THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SOCIAL CLASS AND LEVELS OF ASPIRATION AMONG SELECTED ALBERTA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

by

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank Dr. Cecil L. French for his direction of this thesis. Interest in the field of social stratification was stimulated initially by his provocative teaching and eventually expressed in the present research under his energetic and careful guidance.

The author is also grateful to Dr. Robert L. James and Dr. Philip Jacoby for their painstaking criticism of the manuscript.

Special thanks for their cooperation are due to the Director of Personnel and Research of the Edmonton Public School Board and the fourteen principals of the junior and senior high schools in which permission was granted to use class periods for testing.

Acknowledgments are due to Bill Adams and other staff members of the University of Alberta Computing Center for their work on programming the research data.

The author is indebted to Florence Friedman for assistance in testing and verification, to Maureen Dorosh for coding, to Judy Strong for coding and clerical assistance, to Brenda Leake for the typing of the first draft of the manuscript, and to Mary Krohr who was responsible for the final typescript.

Financial support by a University Research Grant to Dr. Cecil L. French is gratefully acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to explore some of the social sources of achievement orientation and levels of educational and occupational aspiration. The principal finding of the study was that achievement orientation and levels of aspiration are highly related to the social class position of the individual. The study established a strong positive relationship between social class membership and the possession of the implementary values necessary for achievement, saliency of knowledge about the occupational structure, and levels of educational and occupational aspiration. The sample of students tested responded in a consistent pattern of high achievement orientation and high levels of aspiration by students with fathers from high status position, graduating downwards in the possession of values necessary for achieving behavior with each lower strata of social standing.

A nonprobability sample of 1105 junior and senior high school students from Edmonton and small surrounding towns and farms with a 200-mile radius of the city were the subjects of the study. Their social characteristics, including a range of social class backgrounds, church membership, ethnic affiliation, and farm, small town and urban residence fulfilled the requirements for the four

independent variables to be tested. The Achievement Orientation Test, Name Occupations Test, Twenty Statements Test, and a questionnaire asking background information and educational and vocational aspirations were administered to these students in their classrooms.

A corollary finding, which was the second generalization arising out of the study, was that differences in achievement value orientation and levels of educational and vocational aspiration attributable to membership in other major social categories, such as religious bodies, racial and ethnic groupings, and community of residence, whether city, small town, or farm, fade in importance, in the main, where persons of similar social class in these categories are compared to each other. Although it was expected that Protestants would aspire higher than Catholics, for example, there was no significant difference between students of different church membership when class was held constant.

Two major exceptions to the second generalization were found. For the Indians and Metis in the sample, ethnicity did make a difference in their achievement orientation scores and occupational choice. They were significantly lower than other students when compared by class standing. The second major exception to the

paramount influence of social class was place of residence; middle and upper class young people from the city made significantly higher occupational choices than their counterparts from small towns and farms. Although they did not differ in achievement value orientation or saliency of knowledge about the occupational structure, they tended to choose higher-prestige jobs when asked to select an occupation they would like to have as adults.

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The identification and development of talented persons has become an area of national concern as well as of considerable research activity in recent years. The failure of the social system to make full use of its able citizens from whatever social class, religious, ethnic, racial group or region of the country has been recognized as a useless loss of valuable manpower resources. In a society professing a democratic and equalitarian outlook on the distribution of ability throughout the whole population, the contradictory situation remains that a much higher ratio of professional, technical, and managerial personnel is drawn from children of middle and upper class families than from those born to the working classes. How can the different levels of achievement from stratum to stratum be explained? What part do intelligence, temperament, social experience, and social accident play in influencing careers?

It is pointed out that the particular conditions of life surrounding the middle and upper class child - family background assets, good health care, educational

opportunities, financial backing, and helpful contacts with family friends in the business and the professions - give the middle and upper class child a whole series of special advantages which favor the optimum development of his individual abilities. He is very often encouraged and guided to exploit his abilities to the utmost; in some cases, the complaint is made that the middle class family career ambitions push the children of the advantaged classes into educational and occupational situations a good deal beyond their actual potential to handle the demands competently.

In contrast, the "life chances" of the lower class person are not especially propitious for the development of his talent with the consequence that he is successful only if he surmounts the drawbacks of his social environment. Those who succeed in rising from working class backgrounds or from lower-class-status racial and ethnic groups are "self-made" men in the sense that they reach high occupational positions, despite the limitations of their backgrounds. Data gathered by the United States Army in World War II reveals that high-level civilian occupations were filled to a very great extent by men with high intelligence.[1]

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[1]C. Arnold Anderson, James C. Brown, and Mary Jean Bowman, "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility," Journal of Political Economy, 60 (1952), pp. 281-239.

Similarly, but to a much lesser degree, very low occupations were filled by men of low intelligence. But the more significant finding was that the intermediate job levels, which are occupied by the great bulk of workers (semi-skilled and skilled and white-collar workers) had an intelligence distribution which approaches the normal curve, ranging from very low to very high. Within this middle group are many individuals whose life work is not "appropriate" to their intelligence and general capacity to make a significant contribution to society.

For a democratically committed society, the answer to the unfair advantage accorded to the children of the well-placed has been an attempt to equalize the opportunities for working class youth to develop themselves. Equalization of educational facilities for all classes has been the main avenue of attack on the problem of assuring roughly similar chances for mobility to all people. This approach is based on the conviction that in a society where professional technical skill is valued and rewarded without reference to family connections, the professionally and technically well-educated can rise in accordance with their ability and initiative. Although few have been persuaded that free educational facilities and general health and welfare services can create identical opportunities for all classes and groups, still such repairs to the system have increased the possibilities of creating an open society.

Although the "life chances" explanation for differential placement in the social structure of persons from various social classes and groups appears to be sound and has been documented by research to some extent, it leaves out some of the subtler effects of social group membership on the person's orientation toward social mobility and occupational achievement. It does not take into account how group membership influences attitudes toward rising in social status nor how socialization in certain groups affects the achievement motive. If, for example, social classes, religious and ethnic groups, and urban and rural communities instill different values as to the importance of competition for high occupational position, members of these groups will be motivated to expend their energies and develop their talents differently from each other despite the similar "life chances" which may be their lot. The importance of the differences in beliefs and values conducive to achievement behavior may offer an explanation on the social-psychological level for the apathy, indifference, and even hostility with which certain groups meet attempts to give them the opportunity to improve their social status and conditions of life. This group effect on the individual's motivation patterns is a dimension quite apart from the structure of practical opportunities and advantages defined as "life chances."

In a society in which striving for achievement

may be thought of as a generally-held value, it may be surprising to find how differently various subgroups view achieving behavior. Not only may attitudes and orientations toward the importance of social and economic success differ widely, but the social and psychological isolation of some groups from the widespread accent on achievement may keep much knowledge of this notion from certain groups. Moreover, social and residential isolation may keep some people from knowing of the existence of many occupational roles with the result that many of the jobs of high-standing in a society are literally unknown to certain group members.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the influence of certain social and psychological variables on the levels of social and occupational aspiration of a selected sample of urban and rural young people in Alberta. The analysis centers on the consequences of membership in different social groupings for the acquisition of mobility drives, value orientations related to personal achievement, and for saliency of knowledge about the occupational structure of the society. The study asks whether different groups affect the individual's ambition to achieve occupationally and whether varying group standards ultimately limit their members to certain levels of occupational

aspiration and consequently establish a ceiling on their future positions.

Of the possible social categories which might be of significance in affecting ambition patterns and attitudes of their members towards striving for career goals, the following have been selected for study in this thesis: social classes, ethnic and religious groupings, and urban and rural communities of residence. It is expected that group values concerning personal achievement are transmitted to young members in the socialization process to such a significant degree that, on the average, individuals will act in accordance with the norms of their group in this area of life. Thus, the source of motivation to excel is thought to lie mainly in group affiliation, even though the motive itself is a personal characteristic possessed individually. For this reason, an adequate explanation for individual levels of social and occupational aspiration requires a knowledge of the different ways in which groups educate their members in the importance of individual effort to improve themselves and in the kind of goals toward which it is worthwhile to strive. It is hypothesized that personal characteristics required for accomplishing upward mobility are learned from association with particular subcultures of such groupings as social classes, religious bodies, ethnic categories, and rural and urban communities. It is suggested, for example, that Catholics and Protestants

possess divergent enough value systems to result in an observable difference in the achievement orientation of their members. Likewise, different social classes have differing and typical value orientations which encourage or discourage the development of attitudes conducive to upward mobility.

The general thesis of the study, then, is that different segments of various social categories have dissimilar value orientations related to achievement and thereby influence their individual members in the direction of acquiring personal motives and orientations which will or will not be instrumental for achievement in this society. For this reason, it is suggested that various positions in the social structure offer differential opportunities for the development of talent and the improvement of social position. These differential opportunities are not only the mobility resources of money, education, and influential personal contacts. The group takes part in giving or denying to the individual the desire to improve himself and excel for the purpose of rising from the social status of his family of orientation to a higher position. Given the intelligence along with the chance to cultivate his abilities, the individual must be willing to make the effort to develop his abilities and exploit the opportunities available to him. Even though the impersonal factors in the social structure provide a setting in which upward mobility is clearly possible, the individual must have the

psychological capacity to take advantage of the conditions favorable to his advancement in position. This psychological capacity will be taken as being the need for achievement or the achievement motive. But, in addition to such a desire to excel or need to achieve, the resulting activity must be in the direction of goals contributing towards upward social mobility, not merely towards the perfection of some personal or cultural excellence unconnected with social and occupational achievement. A lack of high achievement motive and achievement value orientation are suggested as possible explanations for the fact that many able lower class young people, for example, do not work hard in school or even remain in school, nor do they take advantage of other opportunities to improve their training and experience when these are made available to them.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The role of individual motivation in social mobility has been a neglected area of study until recently. In the main, it has been assumed that, given the "life chances" and the intelligence, the individual usually could be expected to take advantage of the opportunities open to him to improve his economic, occupational, and social status. In fact, the great preponderance of research devoted to disentangling the intelligence factor from environmental influences in social mobility has been based on the premise that inequality of opportunity to get an education and to know the right people, in the right places, at the right time, "explained" why intelligent working-class people did not move upwards on the status scale. Little place was given to the individual's drive to improve himself. Although advantageous family background and educational opportunities may foster ambition, they do not in themselves fully account for motivation to achieve. Ordinarily if mobility is to occur, the individual himself must aspire to higher standing. In other words, the individual's level of aspiration must be set at a standard of attainment

in economic and social endeavors above the stratum into which he was born or is now occupying if he is to make the effort to ascend to a higher status.

It is interesting to observe that most thinking about social stratification and mobility has taken ambition as a given factor in the individual personality. While there is recognition that access to training and employment opportunities must be available if the individual is to succeed, there seems no doubt that, under favorable conditions, the talented will go up the scale, either because people are inherently ambitious and/or convinced that higher status will make them happier, or are pushed into such behavior. A positive attitude towards upward mobility appears to be a cultural value of the democratic ideology of progress, a value that appears to be implicitly shared by some social scientists as well.[1] It makes no difference whether the belief system is conservative or socialist. The conservative elements believe that there is already an equal distribution of opportunities, so the fact that lower

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[1]When treating class mobility as such, sociologists seem to accept the prevailing positive evaluation of upward social mobility. On the other hand, it has been suggested that a negative value judgment seems to be the tone when describing individuals who are upwardly mobile. Upward mobility is then referred to invidiously, associating it with the pathetic status seeker or the ruthless tycoon. For a plea for a more objective view of mobility, see Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson, "The Psychodynamics of Social Mobility in Adolescent Boys," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 56, (1958), pp. 31-44.

class members stay at the bottom simply proves their lack of intelligence and laziness. Political liberals contend that inequality of opportunity has led to a great waste of talent in the lower classes; if opportunities were fairly redistributed, the talent at the bottom would automatically rise to the top. Both positions assume that the well-endowed have ambition or high levels of aspiration which will make them socially mobile. Parenthetically, both agree that aspiring to higher social and occupational levels is, on the face of it, a "good" thing for both the individual and society.

Whatever the ideology about the presence and "goodness" of the drive to improve status in various parts of the population, it is important to recognize that level of aspiration, whether low or high, is an important ingredient in social mobility. Levels of aspiration differ subtly among people and between classes. Although the impersonal factors of the social structure provide the setting in which the individual must act, he himself must have the capacity to take advantage of the conditions favorable to his advance in the social scale. This capacity consists of two things: first, he must have sufficient intelligence to make use of his opportunities, and second, he must possess the motivation to achieve. In addition, the drive to achieve must be directed towards goals contributing to upward social mobility, not towards the perfection of

some personal or cultural excellence unrelated to social or occupational advancement. How are such levels of aspiration acquired and channeled into efforts that assist upward social mobility? Are levels of aspiration differentially acquired and expressed in some systematic way in our society?

Levels of Aspiration: Initial Research in Psychology

Much of the early work in psychology in the problem of levels of aspiration emphasized the importance of temporary situational factors affecting the height of the goals towards which the individual would aspire. As for the general cultural factors, their influence was referred to as rather stable and permanent in their effects, in the sense that they would be much the same for all individuals in a given culture in a variety of competitive situations.

"The momentary level of aspiration can be regarded as determined (a) by the individual's perception of position on each reference scale which is relevant to his present situation, and (b) by the forces that act upon him in these positions."[1] Thus, on the basis of this limited definition

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[1]Kurt Lewin, Tamaro Dembo, Leon Festinger, and Pauline Sears, "Level of Aspiration," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, Personality and the Behavior Disorders, New York: The Ronald Press, 1944, p. 334.

of level of aspiration, experiments were performed to discover the effects of success and failure on subsequent tasks in a series, the influence on level of aspiration of an easy or difficult activity, of the knowledge of the standards of one's own group, of comparisons with other groups of varying prestige, and of habitual success or failure, reward and nonreward, of frustration within a particular situation, of the effects of the developmental level of the child, and of the generality and consistency of behavior of different individuals.

In the main, the attention of the experimenter was on varying the situational cues which in each case were manipulated as an independent variable. The method employed was the univariate controlled experiment, with subjects being most often either college or public school students. Various levels of aspiration were induced by changing the stimulus to goal achievement. Personality characteristics of individual respondents, such as ambition, prudence, courage to face reality, were correlated with the subjects' own ratings of future performances. By and large, the investigators seemed to be hunting for situational variables (confined to the laboratory-type testing environment) that would affect the direction and amount of level of aspiration in certain predicted ways. Sociological factors, such as class and ethnic group membership, were not taken into consideration, nor was there any attempt to

collect random samples of a defined population.

In general, the findings of these early studies of levels of aspiration seem to have but limited applicability to the study of aspiration in relation to social mobility. Although in time it may be possible to test some variables of sociological significance in controlled experiments, at present the laboratory situation is not comparable to the reality of social class and ethnic group membership and the counterparts of real life pressures at present cannot be easily found or inferred from this research. However, there is some movement away from comparing groups of people as undifferentiated entities that can be induced to set high or low goals of aspiration according to what momentary stimulus is applied. In the last decade, psychologists have begun to recognize that the problem needs to be framed on a reality level. A recent collection of essays, Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society,[1] shows this trend by the inclusion of six articles on the topics of the "Social Origins of Human Motives" and "Motivation and Society."

Sources of Levels of Aspiration: The Achievement Motive

Much more useful to research in the relationship between levels of aspiration and social mobility has been

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[1]John W. Atkinson, editor, Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society, Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1958.

the work by psychologists in identifying and measuring the achievement motive. This research was greatly influenced by Murray's motivational psychology which in turn is built in part on Freudian concepts. Respresenting man as a striving, seeking, desiring, wishing, and willing creature, Murray was convinced that the most important thing to discover about a person was the "superordinate directionality" (or "directionalities") of his activities, whether mental, verbal, or physical.[1] This concern led Murray to a most elaborate taxonomy of human needs, along with careful empirical definitions of his need concepts.

From intensive case studies, Murray and his associates at the Harvard Psychological Clinic arrived at a tentative list of twenty needs, which are called secondary or psychogenic needs, standing for common reaction systems and wishes.[2] The need for achievement (labeled "n Achievement" by Murray) is classified among the kind of actions which express what is commonly called ambition, will-to-power, or desire for accomplishment and prestige.

A distinction made by Murray between manifest and latent needs differentiated between those permitted more

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[1]Henry A. Murray and Clyde Kluckhohn, "Outline of a Conception of Personality," in Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, New York: Knopf, 1949.

[2]Henry A. Murray et al., Explorations in Personality, New York: Oxford, 1938.

or less direct and immediate expression and those that were generally restrained, inhibited, or repressed. Latent or covert needs usually belonged to the world of fantasy or dreams and were said to be in large part the outcome of the development of internalized structures that define proper and acceptable conduct. Certain needs cannot be given free expression without violating the conventions or standards that have been taken over from society by means of the parents and these needs often operate at a covert level. The ambivalence of individuals towards the open expression of the achievement motive, due to fear of hostility from others and the possibility of humiliation in failure, is suggested by Murray's classification of manifest and latent needs. The need for achievement might be present in many individuals whose behavior has not given open evidence of striving for higher social or occupational status. Socialization for open expression of the achievement motive must therefore provide (1) not only the need for achievement, but also (2) overcome those norms of society (cooperation, brotherly love, harmony, affiliation, nurturance, kinship ties, respect for individual rights of others, etc.) that would keep achievement needs on a covert, latent, or fantasy level.

Pertinent to the subject of the objective pattern or mode of behavior from which a need is inferred, it is theoretically necessary to distinguish between the strength

of the achievement motive and the strength of achievement motivation to strive for a particular goal that is aroused in some specific situation. The achievement motive can be defined as a relatively stable characteristic of the personality after the period of early socialization during which it develops. At least, this is the assumption of this paper; for, while not always explicitly stated, most of the recent research in both psychology and sociology on achievement and levels of aspiration is premised on the psychological and sociological influences impinging on the child early in socialization as the sine qua non for the expression of achievement-oriented behavior at any subsequent period in life.

The arousal of motivation, then, is attributed to an interaction between the well-established achievement motive and objective factors in the situation which confronts the individual. This situation presents to the individual a set of cognitive expectancies which he can anticipate imaginatively as a result of the alternative acts he may choose and the particular incentives elicited and the possible goals to be reached. Of course, these cognitive expectancies and the evaluation of the incentives are also learned behaviors, but it is an assumption that cognitive expectancies and the relative values of incentives are learned later in life and are therefore more

modifiable and more structured by the particular situations confronted.[1]

It seems perfectly clear that expectancies and incentives can vary widely from one situation to another. A person's motivation to achieve, for example, is not aroused to the same extent as he lies on the beach sunning himself as when he meets a business client, unless he puts great value on "achieving" a tan. However, the man's motive to achieve does not actually disappear or dissipate on the beach, but only awaits the appropriate time of arousal when his conscience tells him he should be going back to the office. Back at work, meeting his client, he has the same personality, no different from what it was when at ease on the sand, though his momentary interest and activities have differed in the two situations.

This distinction between achievement motive and achievement motivation is not drawn by all students in this area. Rosen uses the term, "achievement motivation," broadly to include both the motive and the activity aroused by achievement motivation. Although he refers to situational factors as value orientations of the culture, there is no reference to the cognitive function of the individual who must perceive the cultural factors as sufficient incentive before acting.

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[1] John W. Atkinson, op. cit., pp. 435-436.

Achievement motive and achievement motivation are both subsumed under the "Achievement Syndrome" by Rosen. This syndrome consists of the psychological and cultural factors which affect "social mobility by influencing the individual's willingness to develop and exploit his talent, intelligence, and opportunities."[1] In the course of two articles on this problem, Rosen describes three components belonging to the Achievement Syndrome, a motive-value-aspiration complex:

1. Achievement motivation. This is the personality characteristic which provides the internal impetus to excel, the equivalent of the achievement motive analyzed above. It should be noted again, however, that he spells out this impetus to excel in typical modes of behavior, such as persistent striving activity aimed at high goals and involving competition, with pleasure in success and avoidance of pain of failure. Rosen relies heavily on the relatively permanent effects of class child-rearing practices for at least part of the class differentials in exploiting talent, intelligence, and opportunities for social advancement.

2. Value orientations. This is the cultural factor which defines and implements achievement motivated behavior, and establishes criteria which influence the

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[1]Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 203-211.

person's preference and goals.

3. Educational-vocational aspiration levels of the group. This is another cultural factor which organizes and directs behavior toward higher status goals by putting a premium on high educational and occupational achievement.[1]

Concerning the acquisition of the achievement motive, there seems to be general agreement that early childhood experience is most significant for its formation. This is the position of psychoanalytic theory. McClelland takes the same position from the viewpoint of experimental psychology. He hypothesizes that behavior patterns learned in the preverbal period are particularly generalized and intractible since the original learning cues are unavailable to consciousness later in life and therefore cannot be easily altered.[2] McClelland makes a beginning toward solving the problem of the extraordinary persistence and strength of motives learned in early childhood, despite the experimental evidence of the transitoriness of most laboratory learning. Why is it that the achievement motive, which is an affective association formed in early childhood, is apt to

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[1]For the addition of this third part of the Achievement Syndrome, which is a specific case of value orientation, see Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and Achievement," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 47-60.

[2]David C. McClelland, Personality, New York: The Dryden Press, 1951, Chapter 12.

be strong and very resistant to unlearning or forgetting?

To summarize the reasoning very briefly: learning that is more generalized is much harder to extinguish than habits which are specifically rewarded. Thus, at the preverbal stage, all the child can learn is that there is a vague class of activities which is followed by something pleasant (e.g., mother's approval). Since he cannot define the boundaries of the class very well or decide whether a given act belongs to it or not, he may, if pressure for achievement is put on him at this age, learn to be kept on the alert by a vague, but impelling hope of great achievement. Another condition which makes for persistence of learning is one of generalized threats and promises. The vaguer and more general the promises of reward, the harder it is for the child to discover whether the achievement behavior, for example, which he is showing does or does not lead to the promised gratifications. The strength of early associative learning can also be explained by the fact that random reinforcement will delay extinction over what it is for 100 percent reinforcement and that early learning takes place under conditions that are unreproducible so that cue conditions cannot be reinstated and attached to new responses.

Linton has phrased the problem in a general way as follows:

> The more specific a response the easier it is to extinguish it. The reason for this is fairly obvious. Laboratory experiments have shown that habits are extinguished either when they fail to achieve the desired ends or when they expose the individual to too much punishment. Owing to environmental or other changes, a response which is linked with a single situation or with a very small number of situations, can easily become subject to the conditions which will lead to extinction. More generalized responses, on the other hand, are likely to be rewarded in connection with some situations even when they are unrewarded or punished in connection with others. It is a common experience that while specific patterns of overt behavior are fairly easy to extinguish, value-attitude systems are extremely hard to extinguish. Such systems tend to survive even when their overt expressions have been inhibited in many situations and to reassert themselves with almost undiminished vigor when new situations involving the particular value factor arise.[1]

Identifying and Measuring the Achievement Motive

Studies in the variation of the strength of the motive to achieve have encountered the problems of separating the achievement motive from other motives, of measuring the saliency of the achievement motive, and correlating the measurements from test results with actual behavior. Although none of these difficulties has been fully resolved, McClelland and his associates have been working in this area since the war, developing a number of projective and content analysis techniques that make it possible to analyze the strength of the need for achievement. The volume called

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[1]Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1945, p. 115.

The Achievement Motive[1] was the first report on research in progress, giving the Thematic Apperception Test techniques employed with special adaptations for scoring need for achievement, validating materials and theoretical concepts. The TAT's have been subsequently used in a great deal of research on achievement.

The particular contribution of the method is a tested procedure for coding of fictional and fantasy materials according to criteria which are measures of the extent to which the picture is interpreted by the respondent as any attempt to achieve, either relative to some abstract standard of excellence or relative to some other person. The tests have been administered and coded under various kinds of experimental conditions designed for arousal of the achievement motive, the conditions being relaxed, neutral, achievement-oriented, success, failure, and success and failure in sequence.

In analyzing imaginative stories for the presence of the achievement motive, McClelland and associates found it necessary to distinguish between "hope of success" and "fear of failure." It was hypothesized that individuals who have been praised or rewarded primarily for successful competition with a standard of excellence would think of

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[1]David C. McClelland, John W. Atkinson, Russell A. Clark, and Edward A. Lowell, The Achievement Motive, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

the probability of success as relatively great. Consequently, the achievement motive in these persons would consist largely of an association of cues with positive affective changes. On the other hand, certain individuals have been primarily punished for failure and perhaps have failed a good deal of the time; they therefore respond defensively from a "fear of failure." Thus, it is found that subjects with only moderately high n Achievement scores recall relatively more completed tasks because they are defensively oriented, and recall their successes because they are relatively afraid of failure. The subjects with high n Achievement scores, however, recall more incompleted tasks because they are primarily success-oriented and want to finish the tasks.[1] Thus, it is difficult to discriminate between:

(1) "affective responses which allow the inference that the character in the story is really concerned about his ability to get ahead, and (2) affective responses that suggest annoyance, hostility, and other diffuse emotional reactions that appear achievement-related, but may be the result of the author's characteristic emotional reaction in competitive situations."[2]

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[1]John W. Atkinson, "The Achievement Motive and Recall of Interrupted and Completed Tasks," in David C. McClelland, Studies in Motivation, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955, pp. 494-506.

[2]McClelland et al., op. cit., p. 216.

The resulting caution for interpreting achievement motive in stories and answers to questionnaires lies in the possibility that there may be "fear of failure" so great that it blocks out overt expression of desire to achieve and thereby creates "false lows" among respondents who actually have high achievement motive levels. Any paper or pencil test, interview schedule or projective test may run into this difficulty, resulting in poor validity for the test. If level of aspiration is regarded as the overt expression of the individual's achievement motive, aroused by either simulated or reality cues in the environment, "false lows," and probably "false highs" on a fantasy basis, will ever be a problem. It is also possible that n Achievement scores may be a measure of the extent to which people's thoughts are preoccupied with achievement-oriented behavior. This may or may not be inconsistent with the more specific assumption that n Achievement score measures the <u>strength</u> of a motive for achievement.

It might be worthwhile to state some assumptions about the achievement motive and levels of aspiration at this point. We have accepted the theoretical position that all motives are learned, that they probably have their origin in repeated experience (of an affective nature) and that these experiences are connected with certain types of situations and particular constellations of behavior. The differences in achievement motive as expressed in aspirations

towards higher educational and occupational status, for example, must not be simply temporary and reflecting only momentary differences in the life situations of the individuals concerned (as was implied in the early experimental research on levels of aspiration by psychologists). Clearly, an outsider, such as a researcher, cannot merely "build it up" in an individual through creating an encouraging atmosphere.

Winterbottom posited a strong relationship between stress on independence training in childhood and the acquisition of a high need for achievement.[1] She obtained n Achievement scores from 28 boys, from 8 to 10 years of age, living in a small, middle-class midwestern town, along with their mother's attitude toward independence training (demands and restrictions), and the parental reaction (kind of reward or punishment) to the child's behavior. The main results were that, while the total number of demands made by mothers of sons with high and low n Achievement does not differ, the mothers of sons with high n Achievement expect their children to have met independence demands much earlier in life. By age 7, mothers of "highs" expect that over 60% of the demands will have been learned, whereas the mothers of "lows" expect only about 33%.

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[1]Marian R. Winterbottom, "The Relation of Need for Achievement to Learning Experiences in Independence and Mastery," in John W. Atkinson, op. cit., pp. 453-478.

The differences between the mothers may be characterized as follows: a mother of a "high" son urges her child to master a skill early (e.g., to know his way around the city), restricts him until he does (e.g., not to play away from home), and then lets him alone. She has faith in her son's ability to master something and to do it on his own. In contrast, the mother of a "low" son tends not to have that faith and continues to restrict her child to playing around the house. One item among the restrictions which separated mothers of "highs" from "lows" most significantly dealt with "not playing with children his parents don't know or disapprove." This finding is consistent with Brown's F scale results showing that low n Achievement is associated with higher F scale scores, and suggests that "lows" may come from authoritarian type homes.

Other interpretations have been given to the rigidity factor in child-rearing and its relation to the achievement motive. In a study on the "Achievement Themes in Folk Tales Related to the Socialization Practice," Child, Storm, and Veroff suggest an alternative interpretation of the rigidity factor in a cross-cultural study relating indices of child-rearing practices in different folk cultures to indices of achievement imagery obtained from analyses of folk tales of those cultures.

> In societies where parent behavior is characterized by indulgence and lack of rigidity, n Achievement scores show tentative evidence of being more

> related to the importance of achievement-oriented behavior in adult life. . . . Conceivably this may indicate that low rigidity and high indulgence (within the range of the variation found among cultural practices) favor the child's identification with adults and thus tend to produce preoccupation with achievement just because conformity to adult standards of excellence in skill is everywhere difficult or impossible for children to achieve.[1]

In connection with this, it may be interesting to spell out those demands on which mothers differed and did not differ in Winterbottom's study. The greatest differences were on the demands which were made upon sons by age 8 significantly more often by mothers of "highs" than of "lows": to know his way around the city, to try new things for himself, to do well in competition, and to make his own friends. The mothers did <u>not</u> differ on such items as: to eat well alone, to look after his own possessions, to go to bed by himself, and to do tasks around the house. In the latter group, upon which the mothers did not differ, the child is urged "to do something on his own <u>so that the parent won't have to do it</u>." The demands of the first group seem to be related "more directly to the welfare of the child, as an end in himself, rather than as a means to the end of freeing the parent from some caretaking jobs with respect to the child. If the child doesn't know his way

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[1]Irvin L. Child, Thomas Storm, and Joseph Veroff, "Achievement Themes in Folk Tales Related to Socialization Practice," in J. W. Atkinson, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 479-492.

around the city, his mother doesn't have to do it for him. The mother of the "high" appears to be concerned with her son's developing away from her, in urging him to master things on his own, whereas the mother of the "low" is willing to let such things slide and let him remain somewhat more dependent on her."[1]

The limitations of the findings on the origins of need for achievement by McClelland and his associates are both theoretical and methodological.[2] The theoretical difficulties lie in the fact that two distinguishable kinds of child-rearing practices are implied in the theory, namely, achievement training (expecting the child to do things well) and independence training (expecting the child to carry out tasks by himself), but independence training has been studied to the neglect of achievement training in the research undertaken. Although these two types of child-rearing may be practiced by parents at the same time, it is quite possible for them not to be used simultaneously. In any case, they might be identified as separate characteristics and undoubtedly could lead to different consequences, whether used alone or in combination.

Achievement training consists of setting high goals

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[1]Marian R. Winterbottom, op. cit., pp. 464-472.

[2]B. C. Rosen and Roy D'Andrade, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation," Sociometry, 22 (1959), pp. 185-218.

for the child, displaying confidence in the child's competence, imposing standards of excellence on performance of a task, and rewarding or punishing to ensure the fulfillment of the high parental expectations. Independence training is quite distinct from this; it can be divided into two kinds: training for autonomy and training for self-reliance. It is possible that parents might emphasize one to the exclusion of the other with important consequences for the development of the achievement motive in the child.

By autonomy training is meant encouraging or permitting a certain amount of freedom in decision making. An example might be one of Winterbottom's test items, such as "making his own friends." The refinement beyond the Winterbottom analysis lies in the relationship of this factor to others in the child-rearing pattern. For, if autonomy is granted without giving the child a feeling of confidence in his own ability to take care of himself (self-reliance) and some consciousness of living up to an outside standard of judgment (achievement), the child may perceive autonomy as mere permissiveness or indifference on the part of the parents with a negative result for achievement motive. If the child is allowed to choose his own friends, as a neglected child may be permitted to do on the slum streets, with the child perceiving that his parents care neither who these friends are or what they do

when together, the reaction of the child may be altogether different from the feeling of mastery developing in the middle class child whose mother is consciously allowing her son to emancipate himself by granting some freedom in decision-making.

The second type of independence training, self-reliance training, means expecting the child to feel confidence in his ability to care for some of his own needs and the granting of a certain amount of responsibility for such self-caretaking jobs as washing, dressing, amusing and defending himself. If these tasks are required without giving some autonomy in decision-making, the child may feel he is doing all the unpleasant chores without the pleasure of deciding how they should be done, with consequent reactions of rebellion, feelings of rejection or apathy in the child. Finally, although studies in the origin of the achievement motive have postulated the necessity of sanctions by parents to see that achievement and independence demands are fulfilled by the child, few research studies have concerned themselves with the effects on the achievement motive of various kinds of discipline, particularly the effects of negative sanctions. Furthermore, the role of the father as a reward and punishment dispenser is almost entirely neglected.

Methodological weaknesses in studies of achievement motive origins consist of overuse of ethnographic

materials as against experimental and controlled observation. Questionnaire interviews with mothers have yielded information on how mothers report they handle their children. With the tendency for mothers to be either lacking in self-knowledge or to bias information in favor of acceptable modes of discipline, these data are subject to considerable distortion. In addition, the father's role in affecting his child's development of need for achievement has been largely omitted; the effects of the practices of the parents as a pair are unexplored. Moreover, the research has not included group membership variables, such as social class, religious and ethnic affiliation, although group emphasis on independence and achievement training and the various possible combinations of these training practices, may offer further clues to understanding achieving behavior.

In an experimental study of 40 family groups made up of a mother, father, and son in each group, Rosen and D'Andrade explore the relationship between achievement training, independence training, and the achievement motive with the foregoing criticisms in mind. Their general conclusion was that achievement training is more important than independence training, and a number of differences in the mother's and father's role were uncovered. Fathers and mothers of "high" sons both contribute both kinds of training, but the mothers seem to contribute more to

achievement training. Mothers of "highs" are often dominant personalities and expect less self-reliance than mothers of "lows." On the other hand, mothers of "highs" have higher aspirations for their sons (achievement training), become much more emotionally involved in their tasks, and reward them with more warmth and punish them with more hostility. They tend to be striving, competent women and expect their sons to be like them in these characteristics. "In a way, it is this factor of involvement that most clearly sets the mother of high n Achievement boys apart from the mothers of low n Achievement boys."[1]

Independence training can best be understood when viewed in the context of the relationship of the roles of the parental pair. Fathers of "highs" appear to contribute more to independence training; in the experimental situation, they give fewer instructions and give them less directly, grant more freedom to make decisions, and are less likely to push their sons to excel. They seem to be competent men who are able to relax in confidence while their sons are tested. The investigators theorize that this different emphasis on achievement and independence training on the part of mothers and fathers of "highs" shows the need for training from both parents, the different

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[1] Ibid., p. 216.

effects for achievement motive depending on whether the influence comes from mother or father. It is hypothesized that for the growth of high n Achievement, the boy needs to have more autonomy given him by his father, since a dominating father might crush his son and destroy his sense of confidence in his own competence.

> The mother of a "high" son who dominates the decision-making process may be perceived as imposing her standards, while the dominating father is perceived as imposing himself on the son. Relatively rejecting, dominating fathers, particularly those with less than average warmth, seem to be a threat to the boy and a deterrent to the development of n Achievement.[1]

In general, the research findings show that parents of "highs" expressed higher aspirations for their sons to perform well in the experimental tasks, showed higher regard for his problem-solving ability, imposed standards of excellence more often, even when none was provided in the test, expressed more warmth and approval for good performance, and in the case of the mother especially, showed more disapproval of poor performance.

Social Class and Child-Rearing

Since systematic differences in child-rearing practices seem to be highly significant for the socialization of the child in the achievement motive, the sociologist has at his disposal an important variable for analyzing the

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[1] Ibid., p. 215.

effects of various group characteristics on occupational and social status levels of aspiration and social mobility. Allison Davis, Robert J. Havighurst, Evelyn Duvall and Martha Ericson were among the first to point out how social classes differed from each other in ways of training children.[1] These differences were thought to be centered in two related areas of training: development of internalized controls and learning of the achievement motive. Davis and Havighurst have drawn attention to the critical role of anxiety as a reinforcement for achievement strivings in the middle class home, and Ericson showed that the environment of the middle class child made early and consistent demands for personal attainment. In fact, the picture was drawn of the anxiety-driven, well-mannered, middle-class child, clean and unhappy, subject to the high expectations and strict regimen of demanding parents, in contrast with the happy, uninhibited, lower class child reared in a permissive, loving, if rough-and-tumble slum.[2] Challenges to this view of the differences between middle and lower-class

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[1]Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, 11 (1946), pp. 698-710, Evelyn Duvall, "Conceptions of Parenthood," American Journal of Sociology, 52 (1946), pp. 193-203, Martha C. Ericson, "Social Status and Child-Rearing Practices," in Theodore Newcomb, and Eugene Hartley, editors, Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Holt, 1947.

[2]Arnold W. Green, "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis," American Sociological Review, 11 (1946), pp. 31-41.

child-rearing patterns came about a decade later and were finally published in a comprehensive report on the research in the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard.[1]

A comprehensive comparative analysis of the results of a dozen or so studies of social-class differences in child-rearing over a 25-year period pointed out some of the following trends in child raising practices:

> . . .middle class mothers . . . are consistently more permissive toward the child's expressed needs and wishes . . . in such diverse areas as oral behavior, toilet accidents, dependency, sex, aggressiveness, and freedom of movement outside the home. Though more tolerant of expressed impulses and desires, the middle-class parent . . . has higher expectations for the child . . . who is expected to take care of himself earlier, to accept more responsibilities around the home, and above all, to progress further in school.
>
> In matters of discipline, working-class parents are consistently more likely to employ physical punishment, while middle-class families rely more on reasoning, isolation, appeals to guilt, and other methods involving threat of loss of love. At least two independent lines of evidence suggest that the techniques preferred by middle-class parents are more likely to bring about the development of internalized values and controls. . . . Over the entire 25-year period studied, parent-child relationships in the middle class are consistently reported as more acceptant and equalitarian, while those in the working class are oriented toward maintaining order and obedience.[2]

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[1]Robert R. Sears, Eleanor Maccoby, and Harry Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing, Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1957.

[2]Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," in Eleanor Maccoby, Theodore Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Henry Holt, 1958, pp. 400-425.

A recent survey of Washington, D. C. working-class and middle-class families confirms the interpretation that middle-class parents value self-control and consideration for others in their children more than cleanliness, honesty, and obedience which working-class families value for their children. Since parents are likely to accord high priority to those values that are problematic (difficult to achieve) and important (failure to achieve would affect the child adversely), the middle-class takes respectability for granted (the cleanliness, honesty, and obedience so important to the working-class as the avenue to enable the child to keep within the requirements of established authority) and are more likely to value the acquisition of internal standards for governing one's relationships with other people, and in the final analysis, with one's self.[1]

Social Class and Achievement Orientation

If we can assume that values affect behavior, middle-class parents are implementing their value-orientation by working for the internalization of drives to achieve culturally-valued standards of excellence. In this case, the value-orientation is "other-directedness," that is,

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[1]Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," American Journal of Sociology, 64 (1959), pp. 337-351.

being able to respond sympathetically to others' needs, as well as learning to control one's self in the sense of upholding high standards of personal conduct, "to thine own self be true." Indeed, the internalization of a high achievement motive results in more autonomous and generalized success striving by middle-class young people, so much so that they are found to respond to symbolic as well as material rewards, whereas in lower-class youth, motivation to succeed seems more clearly related to the evident material rewards that success will bring.[1] An offer of money reward will change the level of achievement strivings significantly more among lower-class than among middle class youth.

It is suggested that this differential pattern of response conforms to the values and life conditions in the two subcultures and to the behavioral expectations which will be imposed when the young people reach adult status in their respective class cultures. The occupational role of the middle-class child requires a high degree of competitive performance, the product is individual, and the responsibility for success and failure is personal. To meet these demands successfully the individual must be equipped with a stable and generalized internal motivation to achieve. For industrial and manual workers, on the other hand, there

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[1]Elizabeth Douvan, "Social Status and Success Strivings," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 52 (1956), pp. 219-223.

is a greater familiarity with non-personal causality and the effects of external, uncontrollable factors on his individual occupational aims (for example, layoffs), his labor contributes to a group rather than an individual product, and the value of personal competitiveness is minimal, or even detrimental on the job.

The intervening variable between lower status and lack of vertical mobility is described by Hyman as a "system of belief and values within the lower classes which in turn reduces the very voluntary actions which would ameliorate their low position."[1] The lower class person does "not want as much success, knows he could not have it, even if he wanted it, and does not want what would help him to get success." Thus, although there are external and arbitrary barriers to improving his status, the value system is a "self-imposed barrier" to bettering his position. According to Hyman, this apparently comes from a realistic appraisal of his chances to go up on the social scale and serves to soften the blow of low status. Knupfer's "Portrait of the Underdog" develops the same theme of lower class people accepting a poor self-image: that lower-status individuals hold low levels of aspiration "to make life

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[1]Herbert Hyman, "The Value System of Different Classes: a Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, editors, Class, Status, and Power, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, pp. 426-442.

tolerable," a fact which in some cases is a "sign of apathy and ingrained acceptance of defeat rather than adjustment to reality. . ."[1] This may be phrased as a "gain" of the lower classes who may indulge themselves in enjoyable behavior in lieu of the struggle to achieve higher social status. Lower-class Negroes in the South were said to abandon aggression against whites as a way of changing the reality situation and accept substitute gratification in sexual freedom, physical violence, within the Negro group, and dependency relationship with the white caste.[2] This kind of "impulse-following," with a minimum of deferment or renunciation of impulses and gratification may apply to the class structure as well as to the Negro community. The Kinsey findings document further the gains of the lower classes in early and less restricted sexual gratification.[3] It is suggested by Schneider and Lysgaard that the social-psychological "gains" of the lower classes serve to keep them content and attached to the existing social order, even when, from the point of view of the other classes,

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[1]Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," in Bendix and Lipset, op. cit., pp. 255-263.

[2]John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York: Harper, 1949.

[3]Alfred C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, and C. E. Martin, "Social Level and Sexual Outlet," in Bendix and Lipset, op. cit., pp. 300-308.

they "live like animals."[1]

The belief and value system which keeps the aspiration level of the lower classes restricted to the boundaries of their own stratum would appear to confine the lower classes to the bottom of society in a self-perpetuating circle of belief resulting in behavior, behavior resulting in justification of belief, and so forth. Is it true that the cult of success and improvement never reaches down that far? Evidence of considerable upward mobility between manual and non-manual occupational groups throws doubt on such a supposition. How else can the "college boys" in Cornerville be explained?

Indeed, some of the contradictions in the findings about class values and mobility might be explained if it were kept in mind that lower class people are not a homogeneous group with respect to their value systems: some working class people are resigned to their low position, while others are ambitious, at least for their children, and therefore resemble middle class parents in this respect. In a similar way, middle class people who have not recently "arrived" or are second-generation or longer in their class relax in their success and lessen their achievement drives. It is not unusual to see them socialize their children to

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[1]Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Pattern: A Preliminary Study," American Sociological Review, 18 (1953), pp. 142-149.

enjoy life in the present and cultivate the arts of leisure. Striving may be defined as vulgar and business interests below their concern. Entering professions with low financial returns but high prestige in "cultured" circles may be encouraged.

It is true that some surveys have tended to show that the social status of families influences the educational and occupational aspirations of young people very decisively. A random sample of non-farm high school seniors from the entire state of Wisconsin attested to the important influence of family status on levels of educational and occupational aspiration.[1] Eighty-three percent of New Haven high school boys from the two highest social classes scored high on an achievement motive scale, compared to only 32% of the boys from the three lowest strata.[2] Rosen's findings also supported the hypothesis that middle class boys held more achievement-oriented values than boys from lower classes. There was almost a linear relationship between social class and values: the higher the class the higher the value score.[3] Hollingshead found that high

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[1]W. H. Sewell, A. O. Haller, and M. A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 67-73.

[2]Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome," op. cit., p. 206.

[3]Ibid., p. 208. The mean scores for achievement orientation in descending order from Class I to Class V were 4.6, 4.1, 3.8, 3.0, 2.5. $P < .001$.

school young people tended to follow their class position in vocational choices. "They are either being forced to accept or they are willing to accept the vocational patterns the class system holds out to them."[1]

Other research findings do not support the point of view that lower-class youth limit their occupational aspirations to their own class horizon. It has been found, for example, that students from lower-class status prefer and anticipate significantly higher occupational statuses than their fathers; these aspirations are not as high in an absolute sense as middle and upper class youth, but relatively they aim to improve their status just as much or more than the young people of higher status.[2] A study of one thousand ninth graders revealed that their aspirations were relatively unaffected by class and hence they reflected the general cultural emphasis upon high goal orientation. However, their "plans or expectations for future occupations (rather than aspirations) were more definitely class based, and, in that sense, may reflect class differences in opportunity and general life chances."[3]

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[1]A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, New York: John Wiley, 1949, p. 283.

[2]LaMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 703-709.

[3]Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 204-212.

Actual intergenerational mobility correlates of high and low achievement motive were studied in a national sample by Crockett to test the prediction that high n Achievement would result in upward intergenerational occupational mobility among classes sharing roughly the same chances for mobility, and would be negatively associated with downward occupational mobility. These expectations were supported for sons of fathers of the low occupational category ($P < .04$) and for the lower middle class category ($P < .06$), but not for the two high groups. Crockett offers as an explanation, yet untested, of the differential effect of educational level on mobility in the higher versus the lower prestige categories. In the lower groups, education is not essential to upward mobility, so that the strength of the achievement motive will aid occupational mobility quite independently of the amount of education attained.[1]

In view of the fact that there is so frequently a high correlation between the class position of young people and their occupational plans or expectations, curriculum choice, and educational plans, it is still an open question whether these choices represent aspirations or realistic expectations. If the level of aspiration of the lower class respondent is frequently revised downward by a

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[1]Harry J. Crockett, Jr., "The Achievement Motive and Differential Occupational Mobility," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 191-204.

practical assessment of actual possibilities, real hopes and ambitions are not being measured. The arousal of the achievement motive is mediated through both amorphous cues and cognitive processes. On a psychological level, the individual has access to differential mobility orientations within the stratification system that serve both to instill and arouse achievement motivation in competition with others for position in the social structure. We can assume, after the fact, that those who achieve high social status and are upwardly mobile had significantly higher levels of aspiration, at least, those from the lower and lower middle classes. Those members of the lower class who spend their lives as lower class members (as well as members of the middle class who remain in their same strata) are the problematic ones in levels of aspiration analysis.

Given the fact that there are a larger absolute number of high I.Q.'s in the lowest occupational groups,[1] along with our knowledge that this human talent is differentially undeveloped in comparison with middle and upper class members, the importance of the X factor, ambition, high level of aspiration, willingness to work and sacrifice for status success and "personal development" becomes explicit. Beilin objects to the use of terms such as

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[1]A. H. Halsey, "Genetics, Social Structure and Intelligence," British Journal of Sociology, 9 (1958), pp. 15-28.

sacrifice, and deferred gratification pattern as describing the orientation of middle class and lower class strivers, the "college boys."[1] He claims this way of life simply fulfills the goals of the middle class child and is particularly gratifying to the lower class boy who succeeds in leaving his class of origin behind him. However, it should be noted that competition with standards of excellence and the possibility of failure involve anxiety and stress, no matter in what class the individual is socialized.[2] In addition, the postponement and repression of the expression of sex and aggressive needs take their toll in personal frustration and, possibly, in neurotic traits.

On the issue of anxiety, Merton proposes that the lower middle class child is particularly burdened with it because his parents put heavy pressure on him to conform to the moral expectations of society, while the class system prevents him from achieving the success goals the culture requires. The "ritualistic" adaptation is supposed to result, that is, the abandonment or scaling down of lofty cultural goals of economic success and rapid upward mobility. As an adult, the frustrated individual is compulsively rule-abiding, clings to safe routines, and glories in bureaucratic

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[1]Harry Beilin, "The Pattern of Postponability and Its Relation to Social Class Mobility," Journal of Social Psychology, 44 (1956), pp. 33-48.

[2]J. D. Salinger, The Catcher in the Rye, New York: Little, Brown, 1945.

red tape.[1] Could this be the upwardly mobile lower middle class that Beilin claims is being fulfilled and gratified in its drive for upward mobility?

Measurement of willingness by adults to defer gratification for the sake of upward mobility was an ingenious way of getting at aspiration levels rather realistically by Reissman.[2] Male heads of household, policemen, and Jaycees were asked to indicate whether the fact that a better job might entail spending less time with their families, risks to health, moving to another community, *et cetera*, would interfere with their taking the new job. Reissman's most important finding was that the relationship between class and aspirations is not a simple one. Age, reference groups, orientations other than success and upward mobility turned out to be significant factors affecting the relationship between social class and aspiration.

Religion and Achievement Orientation

As research proceeds on the relationship between social class and levels of aspiration, it is found that the relationship is, indeed, not a simple one. Nor is it probably a stable one in a changing social structure. Just

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[1]Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, revised edition, (1957), pp. 121-160.

[2]Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (1953), pp. 233-242.

as class ideology influences levels of aspiration, so may religious ideology. Although it may be true that the Protestant ethic was the ideological basis for high Protestant achievement levels in the past, recent research findings conclude that there is no evidence that the Protestant ethic is participated in any less by Catholics than by Protestants in the United States. "Among the men in these three white-collar occupations (salesmen, engineers, and bankers) there is apparently no relationship between being Catholic or Protestant and being upwardly or downwardly mobile either from the occupational status or stratum of one's father or from one's previous status or stratum in the labor force."[1] Actually, it may turn out that at the present time Catholics are more mobile than Protestants, although this is difficult to assess from religious statistics since getting into middle class status has led many Catholics to defect from the church, and become members of higher status Protestant denominations, especially the Congregational and Episcopalian.[2]

Contrary evidence collected by McClelland and associates established a relationship between Protestant and Catholic affiliation and high and low achievement

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[1]R. W. Mack, R. J. Murphy, and S. Yellin, "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 295-300.

[2]August B. Hollingshead, and F. C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, New York: John Wiley, 1958.

motivation, respectively.[1] However, other work on the influence of the ethnic cultural differences in aspiration level as contrasted with the religious difference raises doubt as to whether McClelland had separated out the religious from the ethnic variable. Acculturation of Catholics to the dominant Protestant ethic and the psychological demands of competition in capitalist economy would easily have occurred, especially in mixed religious populations such as in the United States.

Strodtbeck calls attention to the faster occupational rise of Jews as compared with Italian Catholics who arrived as immigrants to northwestern United States at an equally low social and economic level. He attributes the differences to Jewish values and beliefs which facilitate achievement behavior, a difference due to an amalgam of both religious values and cultural history.[2] Rosen presents a similar rationale for high achievement motive for Jews and Protestants compared with low achievement motive

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[1]David C. McClelland, A. Rindlisbacher, and Richard deCharms, "Religious and Other Sources of Parental Attitudes Toward Independence Training," in D. C. McClelland, editor, Studies in Motivation, op. cit., pp. 389-397.

[2]Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement," in M. Sklare, The Jews, Social Patterns of an American Group, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958. See also Fred L. Strodtbeck, Margaret McDonald, and Bernard C. Rosen, "Evaluation of Occupations: A Reflection of Jewish and Italian Mobility Differences," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 546-553.

for Catholics, arguing especially on the grounds of the difference in independence training, which holds even when class is controlled. However, ethnic differences appear more important than religious affiliation when achievement motive was measured.[1]

In a recent national sample of white, adult males, Veroff, Gurin, and Feld turn up the unexpected finding that Catholic achievement motive scores are not lower than Protestant, but tend to be higher, especially in middle and low income levels during middle age.[2] This finding, so contradictory to Strodtbeck and Rosen, is attributed by the investigators to the misleading bias of sampling only the limited geographical region of Northeastern United States which is an area of heavy Catholic concentration and of especially high income level. They also point out the possible under-representation of lower income groups in the McClelland and Rosen samples. In any case, the pressures of large families appear to raise the need for achievement of low and middle income Catholic men. This conclusion is deduced from the fact that Catholic men with two or more children tend to have a higher n Achievement score than those with smaller families.

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[1]Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and Achievement," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 47-60.

[2]Joseph Veroff, Sheila Feld, and Gerlad Gurin, "Achievement Motivation and Religious Background," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 205-217.

The investigators offer an explanation for why the economic hardships of low income and pressures of supporting a large family act as an incentive for the development of a higher achievement drive in Catholic than in Protestant men. This is based on the differences in child-rearing and religious training practices in the two groups. Achievement motive is developed in Protestants as part of a system of internalized moral characteristics generated by abstract, symbolic sanctions. In contrast, Catholic children are taught by the home and the church to respond to specific moral demands for moral behavior. The cues of external demands for economic support of a large family would therefore be a greater incentive to achievement in Catholic men. This difference in behavior would be consonant with the distinction made by Max Weber that Catholics have a particular number of ways to achieve salvation through concrete steps and are trained to respond to such cues, whereas Protestants have only a generalized approach to salvation which they have to work out during an entire lifetime.

Ethnicity and Achievement Orientation

Reference has already been made to Bernard Rosen's concept, the "Achievement Syndrome," consisting of achievement motivation, the implementary values necessary for

achievement, and group educational and occupational orientations which stress the need for higher education and the value of respected, high prestige jobs. As a way of explaining the differential mobility of various ethnic groups in the United States, Rosen tested the proposal that such ethnic groups might differ in their orientation toward achievement and their culturally-emphasized educational and occupational aspirational levels. This proved to be the case. Cultural and psychological orientation towards achievement was shown to vary, on the average, with ethnic and racial background. Eastern European Jews, Greeks, and native-born white Protestants were found to have higher achievement motivation and greater value orientation towards achievement than French-Canadians, Southern Italians, and Negroes in a group of 62 communities in four Northeastern States.[1] The differences in Italian and Jewish cultures

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[1]Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and Achievement," op. cit. Mean scores for achievement motivation were Greeks, 10.80, Jews, 10.53, Protestant white Americans, 10.11, Italians, 9.65, French Canadians, 8.82, Negroes, 8.40. However, a comparison of ethnic differences did not yield as much variance as social class in the measurement of achievement motive. For instance, a high status person from a low mean achievement motive ethnic group is likely to have a higher score than a low status person from a high scoring group. An additional finding revealed that ethnic group membership and social class both contribute to achievement value orientations, neither variable alone being sufficient to predict an individual's score. This latter finding is particularly pertinent to the present research since it is concerned with achievement value orientations, not the achievement motive.

in their emphasis on educational and intellectual attainment and other values important for economic and social success have been noted to account for differential responses to questions about levels of aspiration as well as actual differences in social mobility.[1]

Place of Residence and Achievement Orientation

It is possible that rural and urban residence may be related to achievement orientation, although so far it has been difficult to separate out the factors of mobility resources and accessibility to means of mobility from the ideological determinants of levels of aspiration.[2] Here again the relationship between level of aspiration and social origins of the individual is not a simple one. The fact that in the recent past American scientists have been recruited largely from rural and semi-rural regions of the

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[1]Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," in David McClelland, Alfred Baldwin, Urie Bronfenbrenner, and Fred L. Strodtbeck, editors, Talent and Society, Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1958, pp. 135-194.

[2]Archie O. Haller and William H. Sewell, "Farm Residence and Levels of Education and Occupational Aspiration," American Journal of Sociology, 62 (1957), pp. 407-411. Among farm boys, occupational aspiration was not, but educational aspiration was related to rural residence background, intelligence being held constant. See also C. T. Philblad and C. L. Gregory, "Occupational Selection and Intelligence in Rural Communities and Small Towns in Missouri," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 63-71.

Middle and Far West prevents us from jumping to conclusions concerning low aspirations of the rural population.[1] As for the actual occurrence of upward occupational mobility of farm and small-town residents in comparison with city dwellers, findings from a number of studies made in various industrial countries point to the greater upward social mobility of workers with city origins. In the Oakland, California mobility study, for example, it was found that the larger the size of the city in which a man spent his youth, the more likely he was to hold a job of higher status as an adult. Specifically, of the men whose youths were spent on the farm, 41 percent held non-manual jobs, of those from urban places under 250,000, 53 percent, and of those from large cities, 65 percent were white collar workers.[2]

In this chapter, some psychological and sociological theories and research findings on what determines the levels of aspirations have been reviewed and analyzed. Factors in the social structure which mold psychological orientations have been particularly emphasized. It is clear that group membership has great significance for the beliefs and values concerning achievement held by

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[1] R. H. Knapp and H. B. Goodrich, Origins of American Scientists, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.

[2] Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1959.

individuals. The contradictions in some of the results of studies of the distribution of achievement motive and value orientations are but evidence that further research on different populations is needed. The opportunity to test the effects of class membership, ethnic and religious affiliation, and urban and rural residence in Western Canada has been undertaken in the research which is reported in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE SAMPLE AND TESTING METHODS

The population studied in this research consisted of junior and senior high school students living in northern Alberta. The plan was to secure a nonrandom sample of respondents with city, small town, and rural residence who also possessed a mixture of other social characteristics such as differing social class membership and varying religious and ethnic affiliation.

The Sample

The 1105 students in the sample were chosen according to place of residence in about equal proportion from the city of Edmonton, small towns within a 200-mile radius of the urban center, and farms located near these small towns. Three hundred and twenty-one students were included from Edmonton, 323 from the small towns of Beaumont, New Sarepta, Vimy, Westlock, Fawcett, Smith, Kinuso and Faust, and 461 from farms. In Edmonton, a wide class distribution of students was secured by inclusion of junior high schools in both middle and working class residential areas and two senior composite high schools with student bodies of varied social class background. The small town high schools also reflected the range of social classes in their local populations. Both Catholics and Protestants of many denominations

were included by choosing both public and separate schools. Varying ethnic and racial backgrounds were secured by testing in two Indian residential schools, two bi-lingual schools of French-Canadian background, schools with Metis students, and in other schools where known European immigrant groups were concentrated. The sex distribution of the sample was almost evenly divided between male and female and all junior and senior high school classes from grade seven to twelve were represented.

Of the 1105 students in the sample, 303 were tested in initial study comparing aspiration levels of Indians, Metis, and white young people.[1] The second part of the sample, gathered from Edmonton schools, a group of small-town consolidated schools, in which many farm children were enrolled, and from the Indian Reservation School at Hobbema, numbered 802. The schools and number of students in each are listed in Table 1.

Since a number of additional informational questions were asked of students in the second group of schools, which had not been put to the first group, the two parts of the sample are kept separate in those sections of the analysis using the additional data. It will be noticed, however, that the entire sample is referred to when background

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[1]See Cecil L. French, "Social Class Level and Motivation Among Metis, Indians and Whites in the Province of Alberta," mimeographed report, 1962. The Hobbema data were added to this analysis later to increase the number of Indian respondents.

questions and tests have been administered commonly to the combined groups.

TABLE 1

ALBERTA SCHOOLS FROM WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

Group I

	School	Number of Students
1.	Eastglen Composite High School, Edmonton	93
2.	Westminster Junior High School, Edmonton	53
3.	Kinuso High School, Lesser Slave Lake	78
4.	Faust Junior High School, Lesser Slave Lake	57
5.	Joussard Indian Residential School	22

Group II

6.	Strathcona Composite High School, Edmonton	61
7.	Ritchie Junior High School, Edmonton	110
8.	Beaumont Junior and Senior High School	52
9.	New Sarepta Junior and Senior High School	82
10.	Indian Residential School, Hobbema	79
11.	Vimy High School	55
12.	Westlock Junior and Senior High School	222
13.	Fawcett Junior and Senior High School	65
14.	Smith Junior and Senior High School	76
	Total	1105

Dividing the whole sample into roughly distinguishable groups, Indian, Metis, French Canadian, and other ethnic or racial affiliation, the distribution is:

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY INDIAN, METIS, FRENCH CANADIAN, AND OTHER ETHNIC BACKGROUND

	Number	Percent
Indian	106	9.6
Metis	42	3.8
French Canadian	104	9.4
White	841	76.1
No Response	2	0.2
Total	1105	100.0

Asked with what nationality they associate themselves, the second part of the sample identifies themselves in this fashion:

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE II ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY

	Number	Percent
Indian	77	9.6
Metis	19	2.4
Canadian	68	8.5
French Canadian	119	14.8
British Isles	213	26.6
Northwest Europe	202	25.2
Southeast Europe	21	2.6
Russia, including Ukraine	72	9.0
U.S.A. and all others	6	0.7
Total	802	100.0

As for the varying religious connections of the second part of the sample, the students answered the question,

"What is your church preference or membership?" in this way:

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE II BY CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OR PREFERENCE

Church Preference or Membership	Number	Percent
Roman Catholic	287	35.8
United Church	261	32.5
Lutheran	99	12.3
Anglican	60	7.5
Small Fundamentalist Sects	21	2.6
Greek Orthodox	18	2.2
Presbyterian	12	1.5
Other Protestant	11	1.4
Jewish	4	0.5
No Religious Preference	29	3.6
Total	802	100.0

In order to ascertain the class position of the sample members, the group was stratified by the social position of the main wage-earner of the family, which is usually the father. The father's occupation which was named by each student was given a number according to the prestige scale of jobs and occupations as ranked on the National Opinion Research Center Index.[1] Occupations not specifically occurring on the NORC Index were interpolated consistently with the help of Albert J. Reiss's supplementary

[1]National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, Class, Status and Power, op. cit., pp. 411-425.

ranking of occupations.[1]

Occupation of the father or main wage earner is a convenient and widely used variable for establishing social status of families. Numerous studies over a period of 25 years demonstrate the existence of an occupational prestige hierarchy which is remarkably stable over time and which is perceived with very little disagreement by persons in all strata of society and from one industrial society to another.[2] Kahl comments on why occupation and prestige are so highly correlated:

> . . .A man's occupation is the source of his income, which in turn provides the style of life that serves as one of the major clues used by his neighbors in making their evaluations. But occupation stands for more than merely a certain level of income. It indicates a man's education; it suggests the type of associates he comes in contact with on the job; it tells something of the contribution he makes to community welfare; it hints at the degree of his authority over other people.[3]

From a representative opinion sample of the entire adult population of the United States, North and Hatt constructed a scale of occupations which showed that the public

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[1]Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Occupations and Social Status, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

[2]Mapheus Smith, "An Empirical Scale of Prestige of Occupations," American Sociological Review, 8 (1943), pp. 185-192. National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Bendix and Lipset, op. cit.

[3]Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure, New York: Rinehart, 1953, p. 53.

had a prestige scale of occupations in mind and could place various occupations on that scale with considerable consensus. With this sound empirical basis for assigning prestige rankings to occupations, many investigators have used the NORC scores as a method of determining class position. For the purposes of this study, the scale was divided into four categories of prestige: Prestige scores 81-93 were counted "high" social class, 65-80 "middle" social class, 49-63 "lower middle" social class, and 33-48 "low" social class. By this method, each respondent was assigned to one of the four class strata according to his father's score in the NORC occupational prestige scale.

The social class structure of the sample was distributed among these four categories in this manner:

TABLE 5

STRATIFICATION BY OCCUPATION OF FATHER OF STUDENTS IN SAMPLE

Class	Number	Percent
High	55	5.0
Middle	352	31.9
Lower Middle	494	44.7
Low	190	17.2
No Response	14	1.3
Total	1105	100.0

Other demographic facts secured in a background questionnaire administered after the tests were completed were age, sex, grade in school, number of children in the family, ordinal position in family, occupational status of the mother, and size of farm, if owned, rented, or operated. All of these variables have been used to throw light on some aspects of the test results.

Tests and Questionnaires

Three tests and a questionnaire were the instruments used in data gathering for this study. These were the Achievement Orientation Test, Name Occupations Test, and Twenty Statements Test which are described and discussed fully in the subsequent section of this chapter. Specimen tests are included in the Appendix. A questionnaire was administered to the second part of the sample, the group of 802. Besides background information, it solicited answers to direct questions about educational and occupational aspirations.[1]

The survey of the literature in the first chapter reviewed the research in the field of the achievement motive and the cultural factors in talent development. It may be recalled that Bernard Rosen's analysis delineated three distinct yet interrelated components of the Achievement

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[1]See Appendix, Questionnaire: items 14-17.

Syndrome, all of which are necessary parts of the psychological and cultural equipment of the achieving person. These were, first, the achievement motive or the need to achieve thought to be learned very early, probably at the pre-verbal level of the child-training period, and set as a relatively stable characteristic in the personality. The second part of the Achievement Syndrome is a cluster of value orientations related to achievement and the third consists of the specific educational and vocational orientations which facilitate the accomplishment of high status aims in this society. The present research undertook to measure the second two components of the Achievement Syndrome[1] in the Alberta student population.

Value orientations, the second component of the Achievement Syndrome, are the principles in the culture that guide human behavior by defining and implementing goals valued by the group.[2] Three areas of life especially relevant to achievement in western, industrialized society are defined in terms of dominant value orientations for group members. The first of these refers to the activistic-passivistic value orientation which signifies whether a

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[1]Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," op. cit.

[2]Florence Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientation: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," Social Forces, 28 (1950), pp. 376-393.

group helps the individual to feel that he can take life into his own hands and mold it to his own liking and benefit. With an activistic orientation the individual has confidence that he is not subject to the whims of nature and his social environment. He is encouraged to believe he can succeed in bettering himself and expected to do so. On the other hand, the passivistic orientation fosters feelings of futility about coping with the problems of life and suggests that the fate of the individual is determined by outside forces beyond his control. The resulting attitude is one of discouragement over the possibility of bettering himself.

A second dominant value orientation is the present-future emphasis of the society or group. Some groups place a moral obligation on the individual to work hard and give up immediate pleasures in order to achieve future goals. Thinking ahead, postponing present gratifications, and sacrificing for the future are the components of the value orientation of the individual from such a group. In general, these are outlooks necessary for the individual preparing for any high status career in industrial society where long and arduous education is required to become technically or professionally proficient. A group oriented to the present, on the other hand, permits its members to enjoy the pleasures of the moment and defines giving up immediate gratification as foolish. The concepts of

planning for the future and sacrificing for some far-distant aim are not within the area of attention of some groups. It is evident that future-orientation will facilitate striving for achievement whereas present-orientation will occupy the individual with matters unrelated to his social or economic advancement.

The third dominant value orientation which is important for achieving behavior is whether the group encourages the individual to maintain close physical and affectional ties with the family. If the group places moral obligation on the person to put the welfare of the family unit above his own, he may not feel free to pursue his own career independent of family needs and ties. Leaving home for advanced education, and moving away from home for new job opportunities are frequently demanded of the individual in business and professional life. The group which neither encourages or permits such separations blocks its members' social mobility. Groups that socialize for independence and put a high premium on individual freedom of action prepare their members to accept these mobility requirements of the occupational structure.

Achievement Orientation Test

To measure the value orientations related to achievement which indicate an activistic, future-oriented, individualistic view of life, a test used rather widely in

the United States, based initially on a formulation by Kluckhohn and developed by Strodtbeck and Rosen, was given in modified form to the sample population of Alberta youth in this study.[1] The test items cluster around the three dominant value orientations which a group may or may not pass on to its members.

Activistic-Passivistic Orientation. 1. All I want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of my own.

2. When a man is born the success he is going to have is already determined, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it.

Present-Future Orientation 3. Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway.

4. Nowadays with world conditions the way they are the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.

5. Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy.

6. It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used for an education or to start a business.

Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation.

7. Even when teenagers get married their main loyalty still belongs to their mother and father.

8. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents.

9. Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory work.

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[1]Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," op. cit.

10. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even if it means giving up a good job.

11. The best kind of job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit.

The test items were arranged in another order and without the value orientation headings,[1] when administered. Students were asked to agree or disagree with the eleven statements. To score, any statement which was answered so as to indicate an activistic, future-oriented, individualistic and independent orientation was given a +1, while those showing a passive, fatalistic, dependent, present orientation were given a -1. A total individual score was computed by summing up the plus and minus scores received. Theoretically, then, the range could be from -11 to +11, but in this study, the actual range was from -7 to +11. For the analysis, the total score results were trichotomized into "Low Achievement Orientation" (score -7 to 0) "Average Achievement Orientation" (score +1 to +6) and "High Achievement Orientation" (score +7 to +11). Answers to individual items have also been recorded for comparison and analysis.

Name Occupations Test

The Name Occupations Test was developed and used by Cecil L. French to explore the knowledge possessed by

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[1]See Appendix for copy of test.

young people of the occupational roles of adult society.[1] Respondents are asked to write down on lined and numbered paper the names of all the jobs or occupations they can think of in five minutes. No other instructions are given, but the students are under the impression that they are taking a speed test and are competing to make the longest possible list. This is the first test administered by the examiner when the classroom is entered and papers passed out. There is no preliminary discussion of the purpose of the test nor any mention of the subject of jobs.

French believes that those areas of the adult world which are within the main focus of attention of the respondent occur to him initially and will take precedence in his list. Under the assumption that those occupations named first have a greater saliency for the subjects, the test is scored as follows: only the first ten occupations named by the subject are used. If fewer than ten occupations are named, the test is not scored. Each occupation named is given a numerical score according to the NORC scale and consistent interpolations based on Reiss, in the same way the father's occupation was scored, as explained earlier in the chapter. The NORC scale was then divided into four parts. All occupations named which fell from 81 to 93 on the scale were called "high prestige" occupations,

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[1]Cecil L. French, op. cit., pp. 8-26.

those from 65 to 80 were considered "medium prestige" occupations, those from 49 to 64 "low prestige" occupations, and those below 49 "very low" prestige occupations. When the occupations named on the list of each student are assigned to the appropriate prestige groupings, the value of his score in each grouping is counted. The number of "high" occupations named in the first ten was considered one score, the number of "mediums" named a second score, with the number of "lows" and "very lows" constituting a third and fourth score respectively. Theoretically, the score on each test could vary from 0 (none of that "prestige" stratum named) to 10 (ten of that "prestige" stratum named).

When the Name Occupations Test is used in the analysis, the test scores are interpreted in two ways. The first method consists of dichotomizing the score results into those who name four or fewer of prestige groups (designated as "low saliency") and those who name five or more of a prestige group (designated as "high saliency"). The alternative method consists of dividing the score results into four parts: those who name no occupations in a prestige group (designated as "very low saliency"), those who name one or two occupations in a prestige group (designated as "low saliency"), naming three or four (medium saliency"), and naming five or more ("high saliency").

Twenty Statements Test

A third test, the Twenty Statements Test,[1] was administered to the whole student sample in an attempt to tap material related to hopes, ambitions, aspirations, anticipated successes, fears of failure, and self attitudes, without asking for it directly. The test is almost completely unstructured, and consists only of asking the student to answer the question, "Who am I?" in twenty statements. No further instructions are offered the students. Time allowed for writing the statements was approximately twenty minutes.

Discussing the usual pattern of response, Kuhn notes that the resulting statements can be reduced to five categories: 1) self classifications (age, sex, educational level, occupation, marital status, kin relations, race, national origin, religion) and social group memberships 2) ideological beliefs, 3) interests (including relating objects to one's self) 4) ambitions, and 5) self evaluations (judgments of mental and physical abilities, physique, appearance, and traits of character). In research using the Twenty Statements Test, Kuhn discovered that members of minority groups are apt to give such membership saliently. Sex is mentioned early in women's protocols, more so than

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[1]Manford Kuhn, "Self-Attitudes by Age, Sex, and Professional Training," The Sociological Quarterly, 1 (1960), pp. 39-55.

in men's, and is most salient during the dating and courtship period. Women mention kin membership more than men. Mentioning of professional role early in the protocol increases steadily with each year in professional school.

On the basis of this experience with the test, it was expected that a picture of the students' preoccupations with plans for the future and his feelings of adequacy and inadequacy in the face of demands for future performance of educational and occupational roles might be elicited. Some of the assumptions of the scoring were that the earlier the statement is made by the writer, the more saliency it has for him. It was also assumed that when a number of different statements were made on the same theme, this theme was of particular importance to the student. Thus, for example, if a great many different statements were made on the subject of physical appearance in such a free, unstructured situation, the area of personal appearance could be interpreted as of relative importance to the student.

In order to measure both saliency of position and relative amount of space devoted to various themes, the test was scored in two ways. First, on those items which had the probability of being referred to only once, such as mention of age or sex, the ordinal position of the reference was recorded. Thus, in the content analysis of the Twenty Statements Test protocol, the five possible positions at

which age might be mentioned were the first to the fourth statement, fifth to eighth, ninth to twelfth, thirteenth to sixteenth, seventeenth to twentieth, or no mention of age at all. On the assumption that the earlier the reference to the item, the more saliency it had for the respondent, referring to age in one of the first four statements was interpreted as a high degree of saliency, with declining amounts for later reference.

The second way of scoring the test was calculating the proportion of statements devoted to one subject matter or area of theme. If, for example, a number of statements were written about career interests, these were counted and the percentage of these statements to the total number of statements made was calculated. It was expected that significant differences would occur in relative space devoted to career interests, favorable and unfavorable self-statements, preoccupation with family relationships and other comments on the question, "Who am I?"

The categories for the content analysis of each protocol were these:

1. Where age is mentioned
2. Where own name is mentioned
3. Where sex is mentioned
4. Where ethnicity is mentioned
5. Kin relations named (percentage)
6. Other ascribed groups mentioned (percentage)
7. Achieved groups mentioned (percentage)
8. Interests, activities, games, (percentage)
9. Career interests (percentage)
10. Favorable self statements (percentage)

11. Unfavorable self statements (percentage)
12. Physical appearance mentioned (percentage)
13. Character evaluation (percentage)
14. Ideological statements (percentage)
15. Where religion mentioned.

Many other differences in the contents of the protocols might well have been studied. The differences in the actual amount written by various students was striking. Perhaps a word count would have proved a significant finding. Some students wrote one word on each line; others produced twenty long, compound-complex sentences. Differences in the protocols are obviously affected by intelligence, verbal ability, developed capacities and interest in self-expression, and many other factors.

Collecting the Data

The tests and questionnaires were given to students seated in their regular classrooms. Permission was granted by the Director of Personnel and Research of the Edmonton Public School Board as well as the principals of the junior and senior high schools to use class periods for testing purposes. In the case of the small town, rural and Indian Residential schools, arrangements were made with the school principal directly, sometimes on very short notice. In no instance known to the writer were the students given advance warning of testing. Uncoached spontaneity of response was especially important for the almost unstructured Name

Occupations Test and Twenty Statements Test. The tests were introduced to the students in a friendly, but business-like manner and resulting cooperation was good. There were no refusals. The Name Occupations Test was given first so that no reading matter in the other tests would suggest job titles to the subjects. The short Achievement Orientation Test was second, followed by the longer Twenty Statements Test, which took from 15 to 20 minutes. Even though a considerable number of students had difficulty getting started on statements answering the question, "Who am I?" no leads were offered by the examiner. The background questionnaire was given last, with help proffered and sometimes accepted in the case of strictly informational data. No help was given on the last four questions, related to educational and occupational aspirations, although some of the younger age group had difficulty choosing a high school curriculum pattern and, in a few instances, objected to making an occupational choice.

In the first part of the sample, the tests were given by Dr. Cecil L. French, the principal of the Indian Residential School at Joussard, an Edmonton senior high school teacher, and the writer. The writer collected the material for the second sample, with an assistant examiner in the Vimy, Westlock, and Smith schools.

Processing the Data

Test scores and questionnaire data were coded and punched into I.B.M. cards. The verification was done by oral checking of the coding sheets against the typewritten numbers on the punched cards. Some errors in punching were caught later when the straight frequency runs of columns revealed a punch of a higher number than the code called for.

This research served as a kind of "guinea pig" for the processing of social research by the University of Alberta Computing Center. Through consultation and experimentation, many problems of coding and programming were worked out. At the final stage, the assistant director of the Computing Center evolved a two-stage program which allowed the researcher to inspect the frequency distributions of the columns, and the cross-tabulations of any columns requested before collapsing the columns into suitable categories for analysis and statistical calculations. After the newly-collapsed columns were recorded, sometimes in several ways, new bi-variate tabulations were completed and the Chi Square test of significance calculated by the computer. In all the Chi Square tests except those which appear in the findings on occupational choice, the mathematical computations have been performed by machine. All distributions of raw data, bi-variate tables and percentage columns in the thesis are also machine computed.

The tests of rank correlation, Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient (R_S) used in the material on residential isolation, were calculated by the writer.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses developed in this research are derived in the main from a knowledge of the literature reviewed earlier. The summary of the findings points to the influential role of subcultural values on levels of aspiration. It suggests that an understanding of the origin of achievement orientation may be found at least in part, within the context of the individual's membership in several important groupings. For the purpose of this study, four different kinds of categories were selected as the independent variables in the life experience of people. These were social classes, religious and ethnic groups, and urban and rural communities. Expected results in attitudes toward achievement as well as the educational and occupational aspirations are predicted on the basis of accumulated knowledge in this area of investigation.

Testing of a new population may bring surprising results. The special combinations of group membership intersecting in one person or group of persons may disguise the cogency of one group influence as against another. For example, in an initial analysis of the first part of the research data, French found that lower class membership

rather than "Indianness" was responsible for lack of achievement orientation in the Alberta Metis population sampled.[1] Theoretically, then, the independent variables may occur in such combinations as to contaminate the test results, should the effects of some concurrent variable not be held constant. It is therefore necessary to think of these group memberships as interacting among themselves as they influence the outlooks of these Alberta young people. As has been done in the research reported, group membership in one area will be "controlled," while other areas are analyzed. Although the research hypotheses are classified under separate independent variables, the presence of other simultaneously influential factors both within and beyond the research design is acknowledged.

This research was undertaken to test the general hypothesis that different strata or divisions of the social class structure, religious and ethnic groups, and urban and rural communities of residence affect the levels of aspiration of their members differentially. Within each of these four group classifications, there are distinguishable strata or divisions which differ in several ways:

1. They differ in the intensity of the need to excel which they typically instill in their members. This

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[1]Cecil L. French, op. cit.

is called socialization for the achievement motive. The literature on the origins in childhood of the need to achieve has been summarized in the foregoing chapter so that its significance to the "achievement syndrome" would be grasped. However, this variable has not been measured in this thesis. It should be recalled that current research evidence points to a direct correlation between social class status and achievement motive, although distinct exceptions to this finding also prevail.

2. They differ in the kind of achievement orientations which they foster in their members. These are the beliefs and values related to family obligations, group relationships, the control of destiny, self images, self gratification, time perspective, career responsibilities, and life goals which define and channelize behavior instrumental for achievement.

3. They differ in their stress on high educational and occupational goals which are requisite for maintaining high social status and for achieving upward social mobility in industrial society.

The specific hypotheses tested in the study are concerned with occurrence of achievement orientations in members of groups with certain social characteristics. The hypotheses are drawn out of the pertinent literature, modified by some acquaintance with the particular population and area of the country studied. A discussion of the

hypotheses follows under the heading of each independent variable.

Hypotheses Related to the Independent Variables

Social Class

What effects on the values and beliefs of students can be predicted as a result of class membership? The following hypotheses were suggested:

1. Achievement orientation will vary directly with social class membership. The lower the social class status of the students, the fewer values and beliefs facilitating upward mobility in industrial society will be held.

2. Students from the top social class will be achievement oriented rather than leisure or culture-oriented. The top level of the stratification system was not sampled in this study. Should this orientation exist in northern Alberta, it would probably not be found among students in public high schools.

3. Lower class students will disagree with the statement that "Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory work." Lower middle class occupations are acceptable to lower and lower middle class children and their families.

4. Lower and lower middle class students will readily agree with the statement, "All I want out of life in a way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car, and eventually a home of my own." Career is not an end in itself for lower strata members, but a means of earning money to support a family. Personal self-expression and some unique contribution to society would be ideals not satisfied in the outlook of the higher groups.

5. The lower class students will accept the statement significantly more often that, "When a man

is born, the success he is going to have is already decided, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it." This expectation is based on our knowledge of the apathy and fatalism of people in the bottom stratum. Less fatalistic outlooks will be adopted by the lower middle class, a greater proportion of whom are likely to be striving to improve their status with some real hope of attaining a respectable position in society.

6. It is predicted that independence from family will be expressed by middle and upper class students. Although their agreement with the statement, "It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used for an education or to start a business," is scored against achievement-orientation, it is predicted that middle and upper class students will interpret owning a car as a symbol of independence and consequently concur less often with this statement than the lower and lower middle class.

7. All the class levels will approve of the value of recognition of group effort as opposed to individual credit. The findings will mask the fact that most students would assent to this belief, but for different reasons. The achievement-oriented have learned to use cooperative effort to accomplish desired ends, but non-achievement oriented have learned to protect themselves from the results of competition by losing their identity in groups.

8. Reactions to "Even when teenagers get married their main loyalty still belongs to their mother and father," will separate the social classes distinctly from each other on the grounds of the importance of kinship ties: the lower the social class, the more strongly the family attachment.

9. The two lower classes will value money and what it will buy more than education and learning. However, the phrasing of the questionnaire item so baldly sets the ideal against the crass that most students will think they should agree that "Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy."

10. Lower class students will react to a further probing of the independence of family theme by agreeing significantly more often than middle and upper

class students with the statement, "When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even if it means giving up a good job."

11. Optimism about the ability of the individual to make plans and carry them out successfully will be expressed by higher strata members when they disagree unequivocally with the notion that "Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway."

12. Middle and upper class respondents will deny not only that world problems cannot be solved but that world conditions are an acceptable rationalization for self-gratification. They will disagree with the statement that "Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself."

13. Agreement with a most extreme statement of familism will be expressed by the lower classes of students in assenting to the notion that "Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents."

14. The number of high, middle, lower middle, and low status occupations named on the Name Occupations Test will vary directly with social class membership. The explanation for the saliency of occupations according to class lies in the fact that the student's daily social milieu includes adults whose work roles are limited mainly to occupations held in his own social class.

15. Middle and upper class students are more likely to have favorable self-images, whereas lower and lower middle class students will not express as many favorable views of themselves. By the same token, the latter will indulge in less character self-evaluation.

16. Unfavorable self-images will not be elicited from lower class young people. This is because frequent failure in performance (low school grades, etc.) cannot be openly admitted by persons with egos that need protection against further failure.

17. Middle and upper class students will be more preoccupied with career interests than the other

groups. Devotion to long term work goals characterizes candidates for high occupational status.

18. Kinship ties and ascribed groups will prove a greater preoccupation of the low and lower middle groups. Strong attachment to the family of orientation is a highly regarded value of the subculture.

19. Ethnic and religious affiliation will be mentioned earlier by the lower strata. Individualistic, instrumental evaluations are not as important as group ties.

20. The higher the strata, the more the mention of achieved groups is an expected finding. The upper groups are conscious of their leadership role in youth groups and are socialized through this experience to expect this high status in adult life.

21. Age, name, and sex will be mentioned earlier and physical appearance described more completely by the lower strata. External attributes of the person rather than ability and developed capacity will seem the more important way of self-identification.

22. It is expected that virtually all the middle and upper class students will anticipate finishing Grade 12 and attending University if they can arrange it, whereas lower and lower middle class students will express significantly lower levels of educational aspiration.

23. Middle and upper class students will choose the academic course in high school in preparation for university matriculation. Those low and lower middle class children who indicate an intention to attend University will be apt to select a high school course inappropriate for University entrance, showing their unrealistic appraisal of chances for higher education.

24. It is predicted that occupational aspiration of the students will vary directly with social class membership. This will be true despite the fact that there will be a tendency for all students (except the top group whose aspiration cannot be above their father's) to aspire to jobs at some level relatively higher than their father's.

25. Students from the middle and upper classes will choose high school courses appropriate to their

occupational choices more often than lower and lower middle class students. This will happen because of the greater interest their parents and teachers take in their careers as well as their own tendencies to plan ahead carefully.

Religious and Ethnic Group Membership

1. Protestants will be more achievement-oriented than Catholics. Reasoning from the imperatives of the Protestant ethic prompts this expectation.

2. Protestant and Catholic youth's propensity to name high, medium, low and very low occupations will vary directly with religious affiliations. Preoccupation with high career goals is more characteristic of Protestants. A number of exceptions to this hypothesis have been pointed out in literature. Whether the prediction holds in this Alberta student population will be subject to test in this study.

3. Protestants will visualize themselves as taking the opportunity to attend university, if it could be arranged more readily than Catholics. The stress on starting a family and rearing children is strong enough to keep Catholic young people from planning for higher education even if the opportunity were made available.

4. Protestant and Catholic stated choice of occupation will vary directly from high to low levels of occupational aspiration.

5. Children of native-born parents will express, on the average, a greater orientation towards achievement than those of the foreign-born. We would expect this because of the usual entrance of immigrants at the bottom of the occupational structure. Since the children share the class position of their parents, they should consequently share the values about achievement of the lower classes.

6. Children of the foreign born will hold lower educational and occupational expectations than their native born peers.

7. Indians and Metis will be less achievement oriented than the rest of the student sample. On the basis of French's findings, this should be expected

of the Metis because of their adoption of lower class cultural values from the whites with whom they associate. The expected divergence between the two groups, Indians and Metis, can be tested in this larger sample of Metis population, living mainly in the Smith area, a region of mixed population east of Lesser Slave Lake.

9. Students of British background will have more values implementing achievement than those of other ethnic backgrounds. The high social standing of the British in Canada coupled with the advantages of speaking the language would foster upward mobility orientation.

10. Both religious and class standing will contribute more to achievement orientation than ethnicity in this population.

Rural - Urban Residence

1. Relative residential isolation from Edmonton will correlate directly with achievement orientation. The greater the distance from the urban center, the lower the achievement orientation score is apt to be.

2. Residential isolation from Edmonton will vary directly with saliency of high occupations mentioned by students. Unfamiliarity with the complex occupational structure of the city will keep knowledge of many jobs from small-town and farm children. Mention of medium, low, and very low occupations will be associated with the continuum from city to farm.

3. Edmonton and small town residents will hold more implementary values for achievement than farm residents. Familism and collective recognition for work are the important values of rural culture.

4. Educational and occupational aspirations will vary positively with urban and rural residence. The greater the distance from the large population center, the lower these aspirations will be.

5. Rural-urban differences will hold up when class is held constant.

Occupational Choice

1. Those who aspire higher than their father's occupation will be more achievement-oriented than those whose occupational choice is on the same level or lower than their father's occupation.

2. Although lower class students who aspire higher than their father's occupation will have greater achievement orientation than members of their same strata who do not, all the lower strata students will have lower achievement orientation than the middle and high groups.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CLASS AND ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION

This chapter reports the results of the section of the study testing the influence of social class membership on achievement orientation. It was expected that the responses to questionnaires and the demographic information gathered from a sample of northern Alberta students would make it possible to verify the general hypothesis that persons from different class strata possess typically different sets of values and beliefs which may or may not encourage behavior implementing achievement in this society. Should this general hypothesis be upheld, it will extend the generalizations about class-based achievement attitudes discovered to exist in the sample of American young people living mainly in the urban industrial East and Midwest of the United States to a population consisting of junior and senior high school students from urban Edmonton and some selected small town and farm young people within a 200-mile radius of the city. Whether the historical, geographical, and demographic differences of this Western Canadian population produce different outlooks is an unknown until the evidence is examined. The hypotheses concerning the social origins of drives for success and individual achievement posed in the preceding chapter will be analyzed on the basis of the empirical data gathered from northern Alberta youth.

It will be remembered that the 1105 students who answered questionnaires probing differences in values and beliefs related to social mobility were stratified for the purposes of this study according to their fathers' occupations in the following way: 5% belonged to the high social class position, 31.9% to the middle, 44.7% to the lower middle, and 17.2% to the low social class position.

Achievement Value Orientation

Achievement Orientation Test

The general hypothesis that social class position substantially influences values and beliefs facilitating upward mobility is supported by the findings of this study. In the Achievement Orientation Test which distinguishes the achievement-oriented from the non-achievement-oriented, the lower the social class standing of the student, the less apt he is to score high on achievement-oriented items. Dividing the scores into "low achievement-orientation," "average achievement orientation," and "high achievement orientation," social class membership is predictive of achievement orientation at well beyond the .001 level.[1] The evidence is conclusive that as the class position of the respondent goes up, the more likely he is to accept a set of beliefs about his social world which allow and encourage him to act in

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[1]Refer to page 68 for scoring of Achievement Orientation Test.

such a way as to be an upwardly mobile person in the future. As Table 6 shows, only 18.9% of the students from the lowest class position possess such an outlook, in comparison with 61.8% in the top group. Looking at the data in another way, it can be seen that only 3.6% of the highest group have a low achievement orientation, whereas 27.9% of the lowest score low here. Combining columns 1 and 2 on Table 6, 38.1% of the students in the high category have either low or average achievement orientation, while 80.1% of the lows fall within the low or average range. Social class and achievement orientation is emphasized by the large Chi Square total of 77.55 when only 22.46 is needed for $P < .001$.

TABLE 6

TOTAL SCORE ON ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION

Social Class Position	Low Achievement Orientation		Average Achievement Orientation		High Achievement Orientation		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	2	3.6	19	34.5	34	61.8	55
Middle	27	7.6	171	48.4	155	43.9	353
Lower Middle	85	17.2	252	51.1	156	31.6	493
Low	53	27.9	101	53.2	36	18.9	190
No Response	3	21.4	4	28.6	7	50.0	14
Total	170		547		388		1105
Average		15.4		49.5		35.1	1105

$X^2 = 77.555$ 6 d.f. $P < .001$.

Some tendency has been observed for high status families to produce sons who have values less conducive to upward social mobility than their peers of middle class background.[1] Having succeeded in the struggle for economic and social status, upper class parents may prefer to see their children learn to enjoy living in the present and to cultivate their interests and talents for their own sake rather than for status reasons. Should this be the case it is likely that the achievement orientation of high status children socialized in this way would be significantly attenuated. There does not appear to be evidence to support such a trend in the Alberta student sample. The upward progress of high achievement orientation from 18.9% in the lowest class, to 31.6% in the lower middle class to 43.9% in the middle class, and, most significantly, increasing to 61.8% in the upper class, makes it doubtful if leisure or culture-orientation has supplanted achievement orientation in the top group. There are several possible explanations for this finding. The first lies in the fact that the highest layer of the stratification system of northern Alberta may not have been sampled in the study since no private preparatory school students were included. The situation may also be explained by an alternative hypothesis, as yet untested, about the character of the stratification

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[1]Joseph A. Kahl, op. cit.

system in northern Alberta, namely that no upper or upper middle class has been established long and securely enough to shift its main emphasis from striving for achievement to developing the arts of leisure. However, the rapid economic and population growth of Edmonton and the maturing of the social structure of the city may well bring changes in the values and beliefs of its upper class in the relatively near future.

An item by item analysis of the responses to the Achievement Orientation Test will afford an opportunity to discuss the values and beliefs important for the achieving outlook. It will be recalled that students were asked to agree or disagree with a list of eleven statements. The items are scored individually as to whether they reflect an achievement-oriented attitude or not. In the case of test item Number One, for example, agreement with the statement counts as a mark in favor of achievement orientation. Agreement with the statement, "Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory labor," is interpreted as showing dissatisfaction with an occupation of working class status. A positive or negative response draws the line quite clearly between those who would and those who would not find a blue-collar job acceptable to themselves and respectable in the eyes of their parents. Inspection of Table 7 reveals the difference in outlook of students from high and low class positions. 47.3% of the

"high" respondents think that parents would disapprove of their son becoming a factory operative in contrast with 32.6% of the "low" respondents holding this view.

TABLE 7

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM ONE OF THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "PARENTS WOULD BE GREATLY UPSET IF THEIR SON ENDED UP DOING FACTORY LABOR."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	26	47.3	28	50.9	1	1.8	55
Middle	156	44.2	192	54.4	5	1.4	353
Lower Middle	162	32.9	325	65.9	6	1.2	493
Low	62	32.6	125	65.8	3	1.6	190
No Response	6	42.9	7	50.0	1	7.1	14
Total	412		677		16		1105
Average		37.3		61.3		1.4	1105

$X^2 = 15.75$ 3 df $P < .01$

The two lower classes disagree significantly beyond the .01 level of chance with the suggestion that a factory job is too low an aspiration level in the eyes of the adults whose standards they know. Indeed, urban and small-town youth whose fathers might be janitors, truck drivers, or day laborers would likely consider factory jobs as better and probably more secure than their own fathers' jobs. Rural lower class young people, particularly from small farms,

are often bitterly reminded of the higher scale wages of city workers. In contrast, middle and upper class students are less inclined to accept factory work as a reputable occupation. However, it is interesting to note that the high group is divided almost in half in respect to this attitude. This suggests that the conception of factory work could include a very broad range of occupational statuses in the mind of the respondent. If this is the case, the item could be revised to avoid some of the ambiguity. It should also be pointed out that aspiring to a factory job would constitute a high level of aspiration relative to the position of the low class child, but at the same time it would serve as a limiting orientation to the individual capable of filling a more demanding occupational role.

TABLE 8

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM TWO OF THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "ALL I WANT OUT OF LIFE IN THE WAY OF A CAREER IS A SECURE, NOT TOO DIFFICULT JOB, WITH ENOUGH PAY TO AFFORD A NICE CAR AND EVENTUALLY A HOME OF MY OWN."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	13	23.6	41	74.5	1	1.8	55
Middle	120	34.1	229	65.1	3	.9	352
Lower Middle	219	44.3	273	55.3	2	.4	494
Low	101	53.2	88	46.3	1	.5	190
No Response	6	42.9	8	57.1	0	.0	14
Total	459		639		7		1105
Average		41.5		57.8		.6	1105

$X^2 = 26.878$ 3 df $P < .001$.

The definition of a worthy career is proposed in the second item. The expectation was confirmed that lower and lower middle class young people would prove to concur with this statement: "All I want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of my own." Table 8 shows how decisively middle and high strata students reject this conception. The difference in class response to Item Two is significant beyond the .001 level.

A career conceived merely in terms of what the financial remuneration can provide the job holder implies that work itself is unimportant. The kinds of jobs which a lower or lower middle class student visualizes for himself are mainly routine, and disagreeable; jobs are not taken on for the joy of the doing, but for the wages that result. If security, a car and home ownership are the purposes of the work role, a conception of dedication to the demands of higher status jobs has not been internalized by young people reared in this social setting. They are not socialized to approach the world of work in this way.

Middle and upper class students, on the other hand, appear to believe in the essential worthiness of work. They are more likely to visualize themselves as future executives or scientists earning recognition for some individual contribution to their chosen field of endeavor. Their outlook functions both as a motivation for individual achievement

and a moral framework for social responsibility. For the upper strata, then, a home and a car and some minimal standard of living are almost assured; a career is something quite different. It involves commitment to business, professional and community leadership much beyond hearth and home. Most of all it involves personal self-fulfillment through the process of work itself. According to Warner and Abegglen[1] and Henry,[2] big business executives in America say they are content only when hard at work. They take their work home with them at night; it is hard for them to leave their businesses to go on vacations. Furthermore, pleasure is not derived so much from completing a task and relaxing with the fruits of the labor as from the stimulation of accomplishment which involves the individual in more work. Whether or not this kind of ascetic dedication is necessary in large amounts for the performance of all middle and high prestige occupations, the significant lack of this orientation in the lower strata may be a barrier to undertaking the educational training and work commitments required in responsible higher status jobs. The present research supports the hypothesis that this is a class-based value difference.

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[1]W. L. Warner and J. C. Abegglen, Big Business Leaders in America, New York: Harper, 1953.

[2]W. E. Henry, "The Business Executive: the Psychodynamics of a Social Role," American Journal of Sociology, 54 (1949), pp. 286-291.

Three items on the questionnaire relate to a fatalistic orientation to life. As predicted, lower class students assent significantly more often to all of the declarations of the inevitability of destiny than do middle and upper class students. A passive, apathetic attitude towards handling problematic situations has been referred to as characteristic of lower class people. Not fighting against fate is both an adjustment mechanism to conditions as they are and a rationalization of failure to achieve as much as other people. The belief that man is subject to an unchangeable destiny may be frequently confirmed in a lower class child's own family's lack of success in dealing with the environment and with many lower class children's repeated lack of school success. In Table 9, it can be seen that whereas almost all of the "highs," 98.2%, deny that success is sealed at birth, 28.9% of the "lows" believe that it is. The large difference between the "lows" and "lower middles" should be noted. According to prediction, the lower middle class students are decidedly more optimistic about deciding their own destinies than their lower class equivalents. The ambitions of many lower middle class parents result in training their children to acquire a better standard of living and work for the respectability of a white-collar job.

TABLE 9

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM THREE OF THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "WHEN A MAN IS BORN, THE SUCCESS HE IS GOING TO HAVE IS ALREADY DETERMINED, SO HE MIGHT JUST AS WELL ACCEPT IT AND NOT FIGHT AGAINST IT."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	1	1.8	54	98.2	0	.0	55
Middle	34	9.7	317	90.1	1	.3	352
Lower Middle	71	14.4	422	85.4	1	.2	494
Lower	55	28.9	135	71.1	0	.0	190
No Response	3	21.4	11	78.6	0	.0	14
Total	164		939		2		
Average		14.8		85.0		.2	1105

$x^2 = 44.888$ 3 df $P < .001$.

Item 9 probes not only the general masters-of-fate theme but specifically the belief in planning as a rational way to solve problems. Optimism about the ability of the individual to formulate plans and carry them out successfully is expressed by higher strata members who react decisively against the notion that "Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway." The ability to imagine alternative courses of action, select appropriate means of achieving desired ends, and carry out plans through an extended sequence of events and time postulates a syndrome of beliefs and capacities crucial for

achievement in this society. Table 10 below provides evidence of a highly significant relationship between a belief in planning and high strata membership.

TABLE 10

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM NINE OF THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "PLANNING ONLY MAKES A PERSON UNHAPPY SINCE YOUR PLANS HARDLY EVER WORK OUT ANYWAY."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	2	3.6	52	94.5	1	1.8	55
Middle	39	11.0	314	89.0	0	.0	353
Lower Middle	95	19.3	397	80.5	1	.2	493
Lower	64	33.7	124	65.3	2	1.1	190
No Response	3	21.4	11	78.6	0	.0	14
Total	203		898		4		1105
Average		18.4		81.3		.4	

$X^2 = 51.386$ 3 df $P < .001$.

A fatalistic outlook on threatening and intransigent world conditions is expressed by the statement: "Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself." Agreeing with this statement more often than by chance (at the .01 level), low and lower middle class students reveal a mood of hopelessness in the face of threatening outside forces with which they feel inadequate to cope. As a corollary, submission to fate provides a justification for "living for

today," a present-orientation with which the middle and upper class students do not agree. Achievement orientation requires the assimilation of a deferred gratification pattern. As the table below shows, 79.3% of the middle group and 83.6% of the high group cannot rationalize living in the present by blaming world conditions. Whether realistically or not, the middle and upper class students appear ready to postpone immediate pleasures and plan for the future. The fact that significantly fewer lower and lower middle class students define their roles this way suggests they will not make the necessary sacrifices in their young adult years to prepare for high status occupations in their adult years.

TABLE 11

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM TEN OF ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "NOWADAYS WITH WORLD CONDITIONS THE WAY THEY ARE THE WISE PERSON LIVES FOR TODAY AND LETS TOMORROW TAKE CARE OF ITSELF."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	9	16.4	46	83.6	0	.0	55
Middle	70	19.9	279	79.3	3	.9	352
Lower Middle	150	30.4	343	69.4	1	.2	494
Low	54	28.4	136	71.6	0	.0	190
No Response	2	14.3	11	78.6	1	7.1	14
Total	285		815		5		1105
Average		25.8		73.8		.5	1105

$X^2 = 14.645$ 3 df $P < .01$.

To summarize findings for the last three items on fatalism, there is clear evidence that low and lower middle class students express significantly less confidence about controlling their own destinies than middle and upper class students. If some belief in a rational universe and confidence in the ability to manipulate it is functional for achieving behavior, the lower strata students are clearly lacking in such a value orientation, and it can be predicted that their chances for high occupational achievement are poor.

It was expected that lower strata students would also express more dependence on home and family than middle and high strata students. As predicted, their responses to test items 6, 8, and 11 reveal unwillingness to sacrifice psychological and physical proximity to their families of orientation. Psychological dependence on parents is probed in the statement: "Even when teenagers get married, their main loyalty still belongs to their mother and father." The percentage scores in the Table following show that 70.9% of the "highs" disagree with this statement, whereas 55.3% of the "lows" agree. The difference in the orientation is significant at much beyond the .01 level. It should be noted, however, that this statement could be understood by a respondent as either a factual or a normative statement.

TABLE 12

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM SIX OF ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "EVEN WHEN TEENAGERS GET MARRIED THEIR MAIN LOYALTY STILL BELONGS TO THEIR MOTHER AND FATHER."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	15	27.3	39	70.9	1	1.8	55
Middle	147	41.8	197	56.0	8	2.3	352
Lower Middle	226	45.7	268	54.3	0	.0	494
Lower	105	55.3	83	43.7	2	1.1	190
No Response	2	14.3	12	85.7	0	.0	14
Total	495		599		11		1105
Average		44.8		54.2		1.0	1105

$X^2 = 16.019 \quad 3 \text{ df} \quad P < .01.$

The positive relationship between independence training and high n Achievement found by Winterbottom may be suggestive for understanding the lower strata student's perception of himself as remaining attached to the mother and father even when married. It will be recalled that the mothers of low achievement sons tended to keep their children closely under their supervision and dependent until a later age than mothers of high n Achievement boys. Although Winterbottom did not consider the social class variable in her study, it is noteworthy that socialization for relatively early emancipation from the home appeared crucial for the development of high achievement motive. In like

manner, it appears that emotional and physical emancipation from parents may be an important component of the achievement value orientation. A feeling of attachment to the family of orientation superseding even the new nuclear family may be symptomatic of a kind of psychological subordination to one or both of the parents. If this prevents the lower class youngster from striking out on his own, it may be a distinct drawback to mobility.

TABLE 13

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM EIGHT OF THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR A BOY TO TAKE A JOB, HE SHOULD STAY NEAR HIS PARENTS EVEN IF IT MEANS GIVING UP A GOOD JOB."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	2	3.6	52	94.5	1	1.8	55
Middle	26	7.4	352	92.3	1	.3	352
Lower Middle	49	9.9	444	89.9	1	.2	494
Lower	30	15.8	160	84.2	0	.0	190
No Response		7.1		92.9		.0	
Total	108		994		3		1105
Average		9.8		90.9		.3	1105

$X^2 = 12.225$ 3 df $P < .01$.

Lower class students subscribe more often than middle and upper groups to sacrificing a job promotion for the sake of staying near the parental home. Table 13 shows

that 3.6% of the upper class students would give up a better position if it required leaving his parents, in contrast with 15.8% of the lowest group.

The most extreme statement of familial dependence, "Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from home," separates the social classes distinctly from each other on the paramount importance of kinship ties. 90.9% of the top class students disagree with this statement in comparison with 65.8% of the lowest class. ($P < .001$). Note the Chi Square value of 38.40 is far beyond the required 16.27 for $P < .001$.

TABLE 14

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM ELEVEN OF THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "NOTHING IN LIFE IS WORTH THE SACRIFICE OF MOVING AWAY FROM YOUR PARENTS."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	4	7.3	50	90.9	1	1.8	55
Middle	47	13.3	301	85.3	5	1.4	352
Lower Middle	106	21.5	384	77.9	3	.6	494
Lower	65	34.2	125	65.8	0	.0	190
No Response	3	21.4	11	78.6	0	.0	14
Total	225		871		9		1105
Average		20.4		78.8		.8	1105

$X^2 = 38.40$ 3 df $P < .001$.

Apparently, there is more achievement-related training in independence as class status rises. Children

from these groups are socialized in a realistic desire for freedom from home ties. This will allow the flexibility of movement required for occupational advancement.

In scoring Item Four of the Achievement Orientation Test, Rosen counts agreement with the statement, "It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used for an education or to start a business," as favoring achievement orientation. Evidently, it is expected to get at a postponement of gratification pattern characteristic of the career-oriented. Findings in Table 15 show a reversal in this expected response, as was predicted on the basis of preliminary examination of the small sample of 304 students. It appears more likely that car ownership symbolizes teenage independence. Certainly it is the prized teenage possession, giving prestige to the owner and freedom from need to ask for permission to use the family car. The lower and lower middle class students perceive car ownership as more foolish than middle and upper class students ($P < .01$). This may be partly due to the practical fact that car ownership is a relatively greater financial burden to young people from poor families. As a matter of fact, in the case of many lower class families, there is no family car. In such a situation, ownership of a car by a teenager could be conceived of only on a fantasy level. Starting a business may also hold more attraction for students from lower strata families where owning an independent business is the one

avenue of escape from working for wages. This attitude towards independent ownership of a business may be quite a different dimension and becloud the answers to teenage car ownership. In any case, the interpretation of Item Four is quite ambiguous since saving for an education is also included as an issue.

It should be noted that although lower class students are significantly more apt to define car ownership as "silly" the majority of all students appear to be cognizant of its high cost in money and time, from 76.3% of the bottom going to 61.8% of the top.

TABLE 15

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM FOUR OF THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "IT'S SILLY FOR A TEENAGER TO PUT MONEY IN A CAR WHEN THE MONEY COULD BE USED FOR AN EDUCATION OR TO START A BUSINESS."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	34	61.8	19	34.5	2	3.6	55
Middle	228	64.8	121	34.4	3	.9	352
Lower Middle	371	75.1	122	24.7	1	.2	494
Lower	145	76.3	43	22.6	2	1.1	190
No Response	8	57.1	6	42.9	0	.0	14
Total	786		311		8		1105
Average		71.1		28.1		.7	1105

$X^2 = 14.298$ 3 df $P < .01$.

Individual versus group recognition for work is posed in the item, "The best kind of job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit." A negative response to this statement is scored in favor of achievement orientation. If, on the other hand, a person favors group recognition, he is lacking in ambition for personal recognition. In the present study, the difference between social class in the reaction to these ways of gaining recognition are not significant, although in the expected direction ($P < .10 > .05$). The non-achievement-oriented can very well be shielding himself from competition by getting lost in the crowd. On the other hand, the achievement-oriented student may also indicate belief in group recognition, having learned the lesson of group cooperation in school, church and club committee work, or through the example of adults who work in business, industry and government bureaucracies. The social ethic, far from impeding achievement, is a mobility asset in most occupations. Thus, it is feasible that the positive reaction to the "organization man" attitude may be for different motives in different class levels and it may therefore blur the contrasts in value orientations of the two different outlooks. Item Five contributes to distinguishing between achievement and non-achievement orientation in the expected direction, but at only a $< .10$ level of

significance, a level not accepted as significant in this study.

TABLE 16

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM FIVE ON THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "THE BEST KIND OF JOB IS ONE WHERE YOU ARE PART OF AN ORGANIZATION ALL WORKING TOGETHER, EVEN IF YOU DON'T GET INDIVIDUAL CREDIT."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	25	45.5	30	54.5	0	.0	55
Middle	197	56.0	150	42.6	5	1.4	352
Lower Middle	301	60.9	192	38.9	1	.2	494
Lower	117	61.6	73	38.4	0	.0	190
No Response	9	64.3	5	35.7	0	.0	14
Total	649		450		6		1105
Average		58.7		40.7		.5	1105

$X^2 = 6.265$ 3 df $P < .10 > .05$.

One possible difference in values between achievement and non-achievement oriented persons is their evaluation of educational and intellectual attainment. The person who is achievement oriented is expected to comprehend the need for long years of schooling in preparation for a high prestige job. Whether this means he actually finds more happiness or thinks he finds more happiness in the process of education and scholarship, than in the material rewards, is quite another issue. Item Seven combines these

questions: "Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy." Agreement with this statement is scored in favor of achievement. The prediction held that there would be no significant class difference in response to this item. Such a pious affirmation of belief in the ideal as against the crass would almost put the respondent in the position of thinking he "should" agree. A differential evaluation of the importance of education could well be a discriminating item on the Achievement Orientation Test, if rephrased. We also know that lower strata young people are lured away from school early by attractions of the pay cheque. In addition, some research findings report the greater appeal of material rewards as a motivator of lower class children. How money fits into the outlook of a person is an area worth investigating for achievement-orientation implications.

TABLE 17

RESPONSES BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION TO ITEM SEVEN ON THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST: "EDUCATION AND LEARNING ARE MORE IMPORTANT IN DETERMINING A PERSON'S HAPPINESS THAN MONEY AND WHAT IT WILL BUY."

Social Class Position	Agree		Disagree		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	48	87.3	7	12.7	0	.0	55
Middle	302	85.8	48	13.6	2	.6	352
Lower Middle	431	87.2	62	12.6	1	.2	494
Lower	156	82.1	33	17.4	1	.5	190
No Response	12	85.7	1	7.1	1	7.1	14
Total	949		151		5		1105
Average		85.9		13.7		.5	1105

$X^2 = 2.805$ 3 df Not significant

Name Occupations Test

The Name Occupations Test is a second way of measuring achievement orientation in subjects. As explained in the chapter on methods and tests, its form is objective in the sense that the respondent does not know its purpose and no answer is forced on the subject. It was predicted that the number of high, middle, lower middle and low standing occupations named on the test would be affected significantly by the equivalent social class position of the student. This proves to be the case under both scoring methods for the frequency of mentioning higher, middle, and lower middle

prestige occupations, but not for the lowest ranking occupations.

The table below shows clearly that there is a strong positive relationship between presence of high occupations in the first ten occupations written by a student and his father's occupational rank.

TABLE 18

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS POSITION OF HIGH PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Social Class Position	Number of High Prestige Occupations Named				
	4 or Below		5 or More		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	36	65.6	19	34.5	55
Middle	300	85.0	53	15.0	353
Lower Middle	468	94.9	25	5.1	494
Lower	180	94.7	10	.0	190
No Response	14	100.0	0		14
Total	998		107		1105
Average		90.3		9.7	

$X^2 = 65.808$ 3 df $P < .001$.

Table 19 presents the same material in a different manner. Refining the comparison in order to see the percentage of students naming either no high occupations, 1 or 2, 3 or 4, and 5 or more, the Chi Square total is 108.46, 9 df, $P < .001$. Inspecting the table, it can be seen that 28.9% of the "lows" named no high occupations, while 7.3%

of the "highs" failed to mention any. On the other hand, only 5.3% of the "lows" wrote down five or more high-prestige occupations, while 34.5% of the "highs" did so.

TABLE 19

REFINED FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS POSITION OF HIGH PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Social Class Position	Number of High Prestige Occupations Named								
	0		1 and 2		3 and 4		5 and Over		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	4	7.3	12	21.8	20	36.4	19	34.5	55
Middle	42	11.9	129	36.5	129	36.5	53	15.0	352
Lower Middle	83	16.8	238	48.3	147	29.8	25	5.1	494
Lower	55	28.9	87	45.8	38	20.0	10	5.3	190
No Response	14	100.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	14
Total	198		466		334		107		1105
Average		17.9		42.2		30.2		9.7	1105

$X^2 = 108.466$ 9 df $P < .001$.

A suggested explanation for the saliency of high occupations on the lists of middle and high students lies in the fact that their normal social milieu includes adults of a wide range of high professional and managerial positions. These young people not only know more specific occupational titles of high standing at first hand, but they have also given thought to a variety of alternative business and professional careers. Therefore, their view of potential occupations is both broader and more refined than that of students

from more limited occupational backgrounds. Although the latter may be acquainted in a secondary way with a considerable number of occupations from top to bottom, those in their more immediate daily experience will occur to them spontaneously, in other words, be written down in the first ten lines of their lists. If this is true, it may offer grounds for explaining the significant difference in the rankings of the occupations which students write down according to the work roles of the adults in their particular social class.

TABLE 20

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS POSITION OF MEDIUM PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Social Class Position	Number of Medium Prestige Occupations Named				
	4 or More		5 or More		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	41	74.5	14	25.5	55
Middle	211	59.8	142	40.2	352
Lower Middle	283	57.4	210	42.6	494
Lower	133	70.0	57	30.0	190
No Response	14	100.0	0	.0	14
Total	682		423		1105
Average		61.7		38.3	1105

$X^2 = 13.619$ 3 df $P < .001$.

Comparing the occurrence of medium-prestige occupations named by respondents, it is notable that 42.6% of lower middle class students list five or more "mediums" in contrast

with 30% and 25% of lower and high social classes respectively. It is clear that the bottom class is deficient in both high and medium prestige occupations on their list.

The more refined tabulation of mentions of medium-prestige occupations in Table 21 below reveals the lowest class as consistently less apt to name a high number of medium occupations than the lower middle and middle class students. The fact that students of the top class are also deficient in naming five or more medium-prestige occupations but more apt to list two to four medium than the others is a function of their using so many of their lines for high prestige titles.

TABLE 21

REFINED FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS POSITION OF MEDIUM PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Social Class Position	Number of Medium Prestige Occupations Named								
	0		1 and 2		3 and 4		5 and Over		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	4	7.3	14	25.5	23	41.8	14	25.5	55
Middle	7	2.0	60	17.0	144	40.8	142	40.2	352
Lower Middle	17	3.4	66	13.4	200	40.6	210	42.6	494
Lower	31	16.3	29	15.3	73	38.4	57	30.0	190
No Response	14	100.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	14
Total	73		169		440		423		1105
Average		6.6		15.3		39.8		38.3	1105

$X^2 = 67.076$ 9 df $P < .001$.

On the basis of the hypothesis that social class

position influences the tendency to list occupations of equivalent social rank, it is to be expected that students from the lower class strata will write down significantly more low prestige occupations. This prediction holds when the naming of five or more low occupations is compared by social class. The table below shows that 17.4% of respondents from the lowest group mention five low-prestige occupations as against 7.3% of the top group. When the Chi Square is calculated for the difference among students of all social classes, it shows that such a distribution would occur less than twice out of a hundred by chance alone.

TABLE 22

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS POSITION OF LOW PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Social Class Position	Number of Low Prestige Occupations Named				
	4 or More		5 or More		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	51	92.7	4	7.3	55
Middle	316	89.5	37	10.5	352
Lower Middle	411	83.4	82	16.6	494
Lower	157	82.6	33	17.4	190
No Response	14	100.0	0	.0	14
Total	949		156		1105
Average		85.9		14.1	1105

$X^2 = 10.065$ 3 df $P < .02$

An examination of Table 23 yields a more detailed picture of the frequency with which young people either fail

to mention any low-prestige occupations or mention 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 or more in their lists. The reversals in the percentage columns 1 and 3 in the lower middle and middle class categories make the relationships of class and occurrence of "lows" in lists less clear-cut, but the trend from low to high remains strong.

TABLE 23

REFINED FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS POSITION OF LOW PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Social Class Position	Number of Low Prestige Occupations Named								
	0		1 and 2		3 and 4		5 and Over		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	13	23.6	25	45.5	13	23.6	4	7.3	55
Middle	50	14.2	153	43.3	113	32.0	37	10.5	352
Lower Middle	36	7.3	175	35.5	200	40.6	82	16.6	494
Lower	32	16.8	61	32.1	64	33.7	33	17.4	190
No Response	13	92.9	0	.0	1	7.1	0	.0	14
Total	144		414		391		156		1105
Average		13.0		37.5		35.4		14.1	1105

$x^2 = 42.056$ 9 df $P < .001$.

The naming of very low occupations falls short of being significant, although the trend is in the expected direction. This may be partly due to the fact that very low occupations were mentioned much less frequently by all classes than titles in the categories above them. The tabulation in Table 24 shows that only seven students mentioned five or more very low occupations in their lists, these occurring in the two lowest strata. Comparisons between the lowest and

highest groupings are according to expectations.

TABLE 24

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIAL CLASS POSITION OF VERY LOW PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Social Class Position	Number of Very Low Prestige Occupations Named				
	4 or Below		5 or More		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	55	100.0	0	.0	55
Middle	353	100.0	0	.0	353
Lower Middle	488	99.0	5	1.0	493
Lower	188	98.9	2	1.1	190
No Response	13	92.9	1	7.1	14
Total	1097		8		1105
Average		99.3		.7	1105

$X^2 = 2.033$ 3 df Not significant.

From the data gathered by the Name Occupations Test it appears that the lower the class standing of the student the less likely are middle and upper prestige occupations to be present in his perceptual field. Salience of lower occupational positions may mark off the boundaries of his ordinary view of the world of work. Should this be true, it suggests a limitation on his chances for achievement. When the great variety of ways in which a man's ability can be cultivated and employed are either little known or outside the field of awareness of a person, plans to emulate adults with prestigeful work roles are much less apt to be undertaken.

One possible way to assess the validity of this interpretation of the Name Occupations Test is to find whether there is a strong positive relationship between a student's propensity to name certain occupations saliently and his score on the Achievement Orientation Test.[1] A cross-tabulation of Achievement Orientation scores with frequency of naming high prestige occupations shows an exceedingly high relationship between these scores. For example, 17.8% of the "highs" in Achievement Orientation name five or more high-prestige positions in the Name Occupations Test; at the same time, 5.9% of the "mediums" do so, and only 3.5% of the "lows." The Chi Square was 45.66, 2 df, $P < .001$. The highly positive relationship between the two tests can be seen in Table 25.

TABLE 25

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION SCORES OF HIGH PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Achievement Orientation	Number of High Prestige Occupations Named				
	4 or Below		5 or More		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	319	82.2	69	17.8	388
Average	515	94.1	32	5.9	547
Low	164	96.5	6	3.5	170
Total	998		107		1105
Average		90.3		9.7	1105

$X^2 = 45.661$ 2 df $P < .001$.

[1]The validity of another version of the Achievement Orientation Test is discussed item by item in Strodtbeck,

The finer tabulation of Achievement Orientation scores according to high occupations mentioned provides further evidence of the very strong positive relationship between the two tests.

TABLE 26

REFINED FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION SCORES OF HIGH PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Achievement Orientation	High Prestige Occupations Named								
	0		1 and 2		3 and 4		5 and Over		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	49	12.6	145	37.4	125	32.2	69	17.8	388
Average	96	17.6	242	44.2	177	32.4	32	5.9	547
Low	53	31.2	79	46.5	32	18.8	6	3.5	170
Total	198		466		334		107		1105
Average		17.9		42.2		30.2		9.7	

$X^2 = 76.080$ 6 df $P < .001$.

Comparison of Achievement Orientation scores by medium-prestige occupations named proves significant beyond the $P < .001$ level in both ways of tabulating the Name Occupations Test.

"Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," in Talent and Society, op. cit., pp. 168-184.

TABLE 27

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION SCORES OF MEDIUM PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Achievement Orientation	Medium Prestige Occupations Named				
	4 or Below		5 Or More		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Per-Cent	
High	238	61.3	150	38.7	388
Average	322	58.9	225	41.1	547
Low	122	71.8	48	28.2	170
Total	682		423		1105
Average		61.7		38.3	1105

$X^2 = 9.168$ 2 df $P < .02$.

In the table above, it is noteworthy that more students with an average achievement orientation name five or more medium-prestige jobs than the "lows" and "highs," yet "highs" still are represented by 38.7% and "lows" only by 28.2% in this category. In other words, "lows" are poorest at naming both mediums and highs. This same propensity is apparent when the naming of occupations is broken down into more categories as is shown in Table 28.

Similar strong positive relationships are seen to exist when scores on the Achievement Orientation Test and naming of both low and very low occupations are tabulated. For both ways of classifying the results of the Name Occupations Test, the association between naming low-prestige

occupations and Achievement Orientation scores proves statistically significant at the .001 level. Naming very-low prestige jobs and achievement scores are also positively related at the .001 level for the first and at the .01 level for the second scoring method.

TABLE 28

REFINED FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION SCORES OF MEDIUM PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED IN THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST

Achievement Orientation	Medium Prestige Occupations Named								
	0		1 and 2		3 and 4		5 and More		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	19	4.9	65	16.8	154	39.7	150	38.7	388
Average	32	5.9	72	13.2	218	39.9	225	41.1	547
Low	22	12.9	32	18.8	68	40.0	48	28.2	170
Total	73		169		440		423		1105
Average		6.6		15.3		39.8		38.3	1105

$X^2 = 21.727$ 6 df $P < .001$

Twenty Statements Test

The Twenty Statements Test was used with the expectation that certain value orientations related to achievement and specific career interests would be expressed by students when asked to write a series of statements in answer to the question, "Who am I?" Some previous experience with this unstructured test had elicited self-classification, interests,

ambitions and self-evaluations which could be interpreted in the light of the literature on self-images and achievement values. A series of hypotheses were formulated to interpret the protocols and a group of fifteen categories developed for content analysis of the material.[1] Five of the categories consisted of recording where in the test there was reference to age, name, sex, ethnicity, and religion, and also, if these categories were mentioned at all. Early mention was interpreted as high saliency. The results were coded so that mention in the first four statements could be compared with mention at intervals of four in the protocol and with those protocols making no reference to the categories. No statistically significant difference among the four classes of students was discovered. A cross-tabulation of where age is mentioned, for example, according to social class of student, reveals no meaningful differences between classes. The other categories, sex, name, ethnicity and religion, had similarly inconclusive results.

A second method of scoring emphasized frequency rather than saliency. Themes which might be dealt with in several different statements were scored for percentage of occurrence in relation to the total number of statements. If two out of twenty statements were in one area, for example, "I am easy to get along with," and "I am sometimes pretty

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[1]See Chapter III.

hot-tempered," this was scored as 10% of the total in the category of "Character and/or Personality Evaluation."

It was expected that the percentage of preoccupation with certain areas of thought and feelings would prove significantly different according to group membership. This proved to be the case in only one of the ten categories when tabulated according to social class. It was predicted that students from the lower and lower middle class would be relatively more preoccupied with their physical appearance than the middle and high status students. 35.3% of the lowest groups devoted 11% or more of their statements to descriptions of their personal appearance in comparison with only 21.8% of the top group. A distribution of this sort would occur less than one time out of a thousand by chance alone.[1]

Educational and Occupational Aspirations

The research design of this study employed two general methods of measuring achievement orientation and level of aspiration. The first was the indirect approach, that is,

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[1]The failure of the Twenty Statements Test to produce significant differences in achievement themes and self-images may be due to the scoring method. Counted in the same group were protocols with no mention of a theme as well as those with up to 10% of the statements devoted to a theme. This meant that it was impossible to separate students who had written two unfavorable comments about themselves, for example, from those who had written none at all. The investigator was conscious of the loss of data while coding the "Who am I?" protocols, but the time schedule prevented a change in the scale at this stage.

testing with instruments whose intention was unknown to the students. In the main, the response could not be consciously manipulated to give particular results because the variables being measured were not revealed to the respondents. The Achievement Orientation Test, Name Occupations Test, and Twenty Statements Test belong in this category.

The second general way of getting information about students' levels of aspiration and achievement orientation was the direct approach. Students were asked direct questions about their educational goals, that is, whether or not they planned to finish high school and attend university. They were also asked what jobs they would like to have as adults.

Of interest in the present chapter is the relationship between social class membership and expressed preference for attaining high school graduation and university standing as well as choice of occupation. It was predicted that the value orientations of the four social strata would influence the levels of educational and vocational aspirations of the students to such an extent that these conscious choices would be positively correlated with the occupation of the student's father. Possible sources of contamination of the answers lie at two extremes: students may give insincerely high aims or, on the other hand, they may revise their goals sharply downward out of a realistic assessment of practical possibilities. If the latter were the case, it could be interpreted as compatible with the value orientation of accepting fate, prevalent

in the lower strata. In the former instance, the general cultural norm of desiring the biggest and best could prompt unrealistically high expression of goals, especially in a paper-and-pencil test.

As expected, plans to finish Grade 12 were positively related to the social status of the student. Table 29 shows that the difference between these expectations in the four classes was significant at the .01 level.

Table 29

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PLANS TO FINISH GRADE TWELVE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS POSITION

Social Class Position	Plan to Finish Grade 12						
	Yes		No		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	38	95.0	2	5.0	0	.0	40
Middle	191	93.6	12	5.9	1	.5	204
Lower Middle	390	85.7	59	13.0	6	1.3	455
Lower	84	82.4	18	17.6	0	.0	102
No Response	1	100.0	0	.0	0	.0	1
Total	704		91		7		802
Average		87.8		11.3		.9	802

$X^2 = 12.391$ 3 df $P < .01$.

Social class was also highly determining of whether the student chose the academic high school curriculum rather than business education, industrial training, home economics, agriculture, or general terminal diploma. As can be seen in

Table 30, the higher the status, the more likely the student is to select the course which is required for university entrance. The Chi Square total of 103.05, far beyond the required 16.27 required for $P < .001$, draws attention to the greatly skewed distribution of curriculum choices by young people from different social classes. An inspection of Table 30 reveals that 87.5% of the top group selected the matriculation course, while only 20.6% of the lowest group did. The limitations on further academic training imposed by not preparing for university entrance are crucial for occupational achievement. Once the student foregoes high school matriculation, his chances for a high-level job are minimal.

TABLE 30

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION BY HIGH SCHOOL COURSE CHOSEN (MATRICULATION VERSUS ALL OTHERS)

Father's Occupation	Course Chosen						
	Matriculation		All Others		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	35	87.5	4	10.0	1	2.5	40
Middle	116	56.9	82	40.2	6	2.9	204
Lower Middle	129	28.4	307	67.5	19	4.2	455
Lower	21	20.6	77	75.5	4	3.9	102
No Response	0	.0	1	100.0	0	.0	1
Total	301		471		30		802
Average		37.5		58.7		3.7	802

$X^2 = 103.05$ 3 df $P < .001$.

"If you were able to arrange it, would you attend University?" 92.5% of the "highs" reply in the affirmative, 73.5% of the "lows" give similar replies. Although the difference is significant at the .01 level, a striking contradiction lies in the fact that only 20.6% of these lows have selected a high school preparatory course for university entrance. Thus, although hopes for more education may soar high, the practical steps for reaching the goal are either unknown or rejected.

TABLE 31

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION BY EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR UNIVERSITY

Father's Occupation	Aspirations for University						
	Yes		No		NR		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total
High	37	92.5	3	7.5	0	.0	40
Middle	157	77.0	44	21.6	3	1.5	204
Lower Middle	311	68.4	139	30.5	5	1.1	455
Lower	75	73.5	26	25.5	1	1.0	102
No Response	1	100.0	0	.0	0	.0	1
Total	581		212		9		802
Average		72.4		26.4		1.1	802

$X^2 = 13.967$ 3 df $P < .01$.

Given an unhampered opportunity to choose a job which he would like to have as an adult, is it likely that class membership will affect a young person's occupational choice? Students were asked to answer the question, "If you could

choose, what job would you like to have when you're an adult?" The intention was to elicit an occupational preference relatively unlimited by a realistic appraisal of individual capacities and mobility resources. The response had to be made quickly and spontaneously. There was some danger of prompting only high prestige and glamorous jobs such as research scientist, doctor, movie star, or banker. The possibility existed, then, that the stated occupational preference would be exceedingly high for every student. This would be the case unless vocational plans are an integral part of a generalized outlook on life substantially colored by status position in the community.

The findings on occupational choice should throw considerable light on whether stated job aspirations are affected significantly by the motivational forces operating within the various social classes. The phrasing of the question was therefore intentional: complete freedom of choice was given to the student. The student was not asked to anticipate what job he might actually hold at some future time nor was he encouraged to take into account his own abilities, past school record, or possible family support for further training. Nothing was placed in the way of his stating a very high and idealistic level of occupational aspiration. In fact, the choice could be pure fantasy.

It was anticipated that vocational goals so expressed could be self-limiting without any need for outside suggestions

of differences in abilities and life chances. Table 32, tabulating the answers of 802 students, shows clearly that this was the case.

In the table of horizontal percentages, Column 4 demonstrates the differences in the choice of high prestige occupations by students from the four classes: 7.8% of the "lows" choose high-prestige occupations, 11.4 of the "lower middles," 28.9% of the "middles" and 52.5% of the "highs." A Chi Square test shows that a distribution as skewed as this one from the expected would occur less than one time out of a thousand by chance alone. We conclude, then, that the value orientations toward occupational achievement as expressed directly in questionnaires are differentially distributed among the social classes. Some barriers set up by the class value system keep a young person from aspiring to the positions most esteemed by the society in which he lives.

TABLE 32

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION BY STUDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

Father's Occupation	Occupational Choice										
	Low		Lower Middle		Middle		High		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
High	0	.0	15	37.5	2	5.0	21	52.5	2	5.0	40
Middle	2	1.0	119	58.3	19	9.3	59	28.9	5	2.5	204
Lower Middle	11	2.4	279	61.3	96	21.1	52	11.4	17	3.7	455
Lower	1	1.0	62	60.8	26	25.5	8	7.8	5	4.9	102
No Response	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	100.0	1
Total	14		475		143		140		30		802
Average		1.7		59.2		17.8		17.5		3.7	802

$X^2 = 81.844$ 9 df $P < .001$.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION, ETHNICITY, PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION

This chapter reports the results of the section of the study dealing with the influences of religion, ethnicity, and place of residence on achievement orientation. Reasoning from the findings of the literature, it was predicted that Protestants would be more achievement-oriented than Catholics,[1] that members of high prestige ethnic groups would be more achievement-oriented than those below them, and that residential isolation would lower achievement orientation values in comparison with urban residence. The effects of these variables on achievement orientation and levels of educational and vocational aspiration are considered one by one in the following sections.

Religion and Achievement Orientation

The religious background of the students was secured by asking the 802 students in the second part of the sample to check church preference or membership on a list. For the purposes of analysis, the sample was grouped into nine

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[1]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic, (translated by Talcott Parsons), New York: Scribner's, 1930.

denominational categories: Catholic, Jewish, Greek Orthodox, Anglican, Lutheran, United and Baptist, Presbyterian (plus Evangelical-Reform, Dutch Reformed, Mennonite, Church of Christ), Small Neo-Fundamentalist Protestant sects (Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentacostal Churches, Nazarene), other Protestant groups (Latter Day Saints, Christian Scientists, Unitarian and others), and No Religious Preference.[1] The distribution of religious preference turned out as follows:

TABLE 33

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE IN SAMPLE II

	Number	Percent
Catholic	287	35.8
United	261	32.6
Lutheran	99	12.3
Anglican	60	7.5
No Religious Preference	29	3.6
Small Fundamentalist Sects	21	2.6
Greek Orthodox	18	2.2
Presbyterian	12	1.5
Other Protestant Groups	11	1.4
Jewish	4	0.5
Total	802	100.0

It can be seen in the chart that the Catholic group amounted to 35.8% of the sample, while the Protestant group

[1]See classifications of religious groupings in Albert J. Mayer and Harry Sharp, "Religious Preference and Worldly Success," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 218-227.

was 57.9% (excluding Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and No Religious Preference, totaling 6.3%).

The hypothesis that differing religious backgrounds are associated with varying achievement orientations is based on the assumptions of a distinction in the world outlook of Catholics and Protestants. The Catholic orientation is supposed not to prod the church member to achievement in this life, whereas the Protestant is said to view success in this world as a sign of ultimate salvation.[1]

In the sample of students in this study, Protestants scored significantly higher on the Achievement Orientation Test than did Catholics.

TABLE 34

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE SCORE ON THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST ACCORDING TO CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCH PREFERENCE

Religion	Low Achievement Orientation		Average Achievement Orientation		High Achievement Orientation		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Protestant	61	13.1	230	49.6	173	37.3	464
Catholic	58	20.2	145	50.5	84	29.3	287
No Response	3	5.9	33	64.7	15	29.4	51
Total	122		408		272		802
Average		15.2		50.9		33.9	802

$X^2 = 8.943$ 2 df $P < .02$

[1]Joseph Veroff, Sheila Feld, and Gerald Gurin, "Achievement Motivation and Religious Background," op. cit.

Corroborating evidence is supplied by the significantly larger number of high occupations named by Protestants in the Name Occupations Test than by Catholics. Table 35 shows that 11% of the Protestants wrote down five or more high prestige jobs as compared with 4.9% of the Catholics. The Chi Square total was 8.38, 1 df, $P < .01$.

TABLE 35

HIGH PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONS NAMED ON THE NAME OCCUPATIONS TEST ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE

Religion	Number of High Prestige Occupations Named				
	4 and Below		5 or More		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Protestants	413	89.0	51	11.0	464
Catholics	273	95.1	14	4.9	287
No Response	44	86.3	7	13.7	51
Total	730		72		802
Average		91.0		9.0	802

$X^2 = 8.382$ 1 df $P < .01$.

However, there were no significant results from a comparison between Catholics and Protestants in the number of medium, low, and very low occupations indicated on the Name Occupations Test. On the other hand, church preference was significant at the .01 level for plans to finish Grade 12, with 90.1% of the Protestants planning to finish, as against 83.3% of the Catholics. In contrast, the percentage of

Catholics and Protestants who indicated their aspiration to attend university was almost equal.

TABLE 36

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PLANS TO FINISH GRADE TWELVE ACCORDING TO RELIGION

Religion	Plan to Finish Grade 12						
	Yes		No		NR		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Protestant	418	90.1	42	9.1	4	.9	464
Catholic	239	83.3	46	16.0	2	.7	287
No Response	47	92.2	3	5.9	1	2.0	51
Total	704		91		7		802
Average		87.8		11.3		.9	802

$X^2 = 8.301$ 1 df $P < .01$.

Church affiliation proved to be significantly related to stated vocational aspiration in that Catholics were more prone to choose lower strata jobs than Protestants.

Although there appears to be evidence from the data presented that membership in the Catholic Church is related to lower achievement orientation and occupational choice, it is essential to check the class distribution within the religious denominations to ascertain whether class status is not contributing heavily to this difference. The percentage distribution of the nine religious groupings among the four social classes is presented in Table 38.

TABLE 37

STATED OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS ACCORDING TO CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCH AFFILIATION

Religion	Occupational Aspiration			
	Low and Lower Middle	Middle and High	NR	Total
Catholics	71	207	9	287
Protestants	75	367	21	463
No Response	5	25	0	30
Total	151	599	30	780

$X^2 = 7.22$ 1 df, $P < .01$

TABLE 38

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS BY PERCENTAGES

Religious Affiliation	Social Class				
	Low	Lower Middle	Middle	High	Total
Catholic	23.2	59.9	16.0	.7	287
Anglican	10.0	33.3	41.7	15.0	60
Lutheran	6.1	75.7	17.2	1.0	99
United	5.7	51.0	34.1	9.2	261
Neo-Fundamentalist Sects	.0	66.7	33.3	.0	12
Other Protestant	14.3	71.4	14.3	.0	21
Greek Orthodox	.0	94.4	5.6	.0	18
Jewish	.0	50.0	50.0	.0	4
No Religious Preference	9.1	27.3	36.4	27.3	11
No Response	13.8	41.4	41.4	3.4	29
Average	12.7	57.0	25.3	5.0	802

The relatively heavy concentration of Catholics in the lowest class is notable, although their frequency in the lower middle class is about average in comparison with Protestants.

Summarizing Table 38 to show the distribution of the Catholic sample in the class structure in comparison with that of the Protestants, it can be noted that three times as many Catholics are in the lowest class, an equal number are in the lower middle class, slightly more than half as many Catholics are in the middle class, and less than one seventh as many are in the high-status group.

TABLE 39

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT AFFILIATION ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS BY PERCENTAGE

Religious Affiliation	Social Class			
	Low	Lower Middle	Middle	High
Catholics	23.3	59.9	16.0	0.7
Protestants	7.22	59.4	28.1	5.04

In view of the predominantly lower class status of the Catholics, it is important to ascertain whether class position, not religion, is associated with their low achievement values. If social class were held constant as a variable, would Catholics and Protestants still differ in attitudes toward achievement? Using the scores for the Achievement

Orientation Test, Catholics and Protestants were compared according to social class membership. When the scores of Catholic and Protestant members of the two lower strata were tested for differences by a Chi Square test, religion failed to differentiate between them. In other words, the lower social classes responded similarly despite church connection.

TABLE 40

SCORES ON ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST OF COMBINED LOW AND LOWER MIDDLE CLASS CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS

Religion	Low and Lower Middle Class Status			
	Low Achievement Orientation	Average Achievement Orientation	High Achievement Orientation	Total
Catholics	52 (45.8)	117 (122.2)	70 (71)	239
Protestants	48 (54.2)	150 (144.8)	85 (84)	283
Total	100	267	155	522

X^2 = 1.94 2 df Not significant.

Expected frequencies in parenthesis.

Upper class Catholics and Protestants could not be compared, due to the fact that there were only two upper class Catholics in the sample. Consequently, middle class Catholics and Protestants were compared as a group. The table following shows no difference between value orientation scores of Catholics and Protestants when they are all members of the middle class.

TABLE 41

SCORES ON ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST OF MIDDLE CLASS CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS

Religious Affiliation	Middle Class Status			
	Low Achievement Orientation	Average Achievement Orientation	High Achievement Orientation	Total
Catholic	6 (4.14)	26 (23.6)	14 (18.26)	46
Protestant	11 (12.86)	71 (73.4)	61 (56.74)	143
Total	17	97	75	189

X^2 = 2.49 2 df Not Significant.

Expected frequencies in parentheses.

The significance of the religious factor also fades when Name Occupations scores and occupational aspirations are compared, with social class held constant. Social class, apparently, substantially eliminates the differences between Catholics and Protestants in the sample studied.

Ethnicity and Achievement Orientation

It has been seen in the review of the literature that there is substantial evidence for believing that members of certain ethnic groups learn values that encourage achievement and upward mobility more than others. Specifically, for example, Jews, white Protestants, and Greeks

were found to have higher achievement scores than Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes in the eastern United States.[1] Apparently, various racial and ethnic groups in the United States inculcate more need for achievement and more acceptance of attitudes facilitating social mobility than other groups. In addition, a certain cultural emphasis on high educational and vocational aspiration seems characteristic of some groups and not others.

On the basis of these findings, the present study undertook to test a number of hypotheses about the influence of racial and nationality groups in the achievement orientations of their members. Ethnic affiliation was ascertained through three items in the questionnaire: 1) students were asked to state with what nationality background they associate themselves and where their 2) mother and 3) father were born. Using this information, it was possible to measure achievement orientation and levels of educational and vocational aspiration according to nationality, and birthplace of mother and father. For purposes of analysis, these responses were grouped into nine ethnic categories: Indian, Metis, Canadian, French Canadian, British, Northwest European, Southeast European, Russian (including Ukrainian) and U.S.A. and all others.

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[1]Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and Achievement," op. cit.

It was expected that the factors of British background and native-born status would count most heavily in favor of high achievement orientation scores and ambitions for advanced education and high-prestige jobs. As a contrast, Indians, Metis, French Canadians, as well as children of immigrants from southeastern Europe were expected to stand low on these counts. As it turned out, almost no significant differences due to ethnic background or birthplace of mother and father were discovered. An exception to the negative findings was the strong association between low Achievement orientation and being Indian or Metis, although no significant differences appeared in their Name Occupations scores.

TABLE 42

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION SCORES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC AFFILIATION

Ethnic Affiliation	Achievement Orientation Scores						
	Low		Average		High		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Indians and Metis	30	31.3	52	54.2	14	14.6	96
All Others	92	13.1	352	50.2	257	36.7	701
No Response	0	.0	4	80.0	1	20.0	5
Total	122		408		272		802
Average		15.2		50.9		33.9	802

$X^2 = 30.488$ 2 df $P < .001$.

Indians and Metis also had significantly lower occupational aspirations than students of all other ethnic groups. When asked to state an occupational choice, 35 of the Indian and Metis students selected jobs of low and lower middle class status whereas only 19 would be expected to pick such jobs by chance. Table 43 shows that Indian and Metis students expressed significantly lower occupational aspirations than respondents of all other ethnic background at a .001 level.

TABLE 43

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION

Ethnic Affiliation	Choice of Occupation		
	Low and Lower Middle	Middle and High	Total
Indians and Metis	35 (19)	59 (75)	94
All Others	119 (135)	555 (539)	674
Total	154	614	768

$X^2 = 19.37$ 1 df $P < .001$.

Expected frequencies in parentheses.

Once again it may be wise to check whether social class rather than ethnicity is responsible for low achievement orientation and/or occupational aspiration of Indian

and Metis in comparison with groups of all other backgrounds. The unusual concentration of the former in the lowest social class is depicted in Table 44 by percentages.

TABLE 44

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIANS AND METIS AND ALL OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SAMPLE BY SOCIAL CLASS

Ethnic Affiliation	Social Class				
	Low	Lower Middle	Middle	High	Total
Indians and Metis	45.8	46.9	7.3	.0	96
All Other Ethnic Groups	8.3	57.9	28.0	5.7	701
No Response	.0	80.0	20.0	.0	5
Average	12.7	56.7	25.4	5.0	802

A more detailed picture of the distribution in classes of the nine ethnic and nationality groupings used in this study is given in Table 45.

The very limited size (only 19) of the Metis group in the sample prevents us from separating Metis from Indians in the analysis. When the combined groups of Indians and Metis are compared with their lower and lower middle class equivalents of all other ethnic backgrounds, Indians and Metis still hold significantly lower scores on the Achievement Orientation Test than students of all other ethnic

TABLE 45

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC AND NATIONAL GROUPS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Ethnic Affiliation	Social Class								
	Low		Lower Middle		Middle		High		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Indian	31	40.3	41	53.2	5	6.5	0	.0	77
Metis	13	68.4	4	21.1	2	10.5	0	.0	19
Canadian	4	5.9	43	63.2	16	23.5	5	6.4	68
French Canadian	13	10.9	84	70.6	22	18.5	0	.0	119
British	14	6.6	92	43.2	79	37.1	28	13.1	213
Northwestern European	21	10.4	129	63.9	47	23.3	5	2.5	202
Southeastern European	1	4.8	19	90.5	1	4.8	0	.0	21
U.S.A. and all Others	0	.0	3	50.0	0	.0	3	50.0	6
Russian (including Ukranian)	5	6.9	37	51.4	30	41.7	0	.0	72
No Response	0	.0	4	80.0	1	20.0	0	.0	5
Total	102		456		203		41		802
Average		12.7		56.9		25.3		5.1	802

backgrounds. ($P < .001$). It must be assumed then, that ethnicity makes some contribution to an outlook which does not facilitate upward social mobility in the case of students of Indian background. That no other ethnic group proved to be low or high in promoting achievement values was surprising in view of opposite findings by other students in this area, such as Rosen and Strodtbeck. It is possible that this was due to the way some of the ethnic groups were combined for purposes of analysis.

Place of Residence and Achievement Orientation

It is possible that place of residence, whether city, small town, or farm, may be important for acquiring outlooks that facilitate or discourage social mobility. Certainly the usual mobility resources, educational facilities, job opportunities and financial backing, are often more limited in small town and farm settings than in the city. Granted that this is true, a person may rather easily migrate to an urban center if he has ambitions to attend university or to find wider fields of employment. However, the value orientations learned away from the city may be social-psychological barriers to movement; both physical or social mobility may be differentially defined in urban, small town, and rural cultures.

This portion of the study is concerned with the psycho-cultural correlates of place of residence. The

assumptions underlying the predictions of significantly different achievement orientations stemming from rural-urban residence are of two general kinds. The first relates to the positive role urban culture plays in stimulating achievement. The second relates to the negative role rural culture plays in promoting achievement-oriented goals.

As the center of the industrial and intellectual development of this society, the city encompasses the whole gamut of training opportunities and employment categories in the social structure. Competition, specialization, and impersonality develop highly individualistic modes of behavior. The values of individual expression and high achievement are stressed. Rural and small-town environments, on the other hand, include a very limited range of work roles. For this reason, young people reared in such environments may be ignorant of many kinds of jobs. This lack of knowledge may not be so important as the lack of acquaintance with adults filling these work roles whose careers they can emulate. This is an environment comparable to the lower class subculture in the city, where there is exposure principally to adults working in low level jobs. The rural culture, in addition, fosters devotion to the group, at least to the family unit, an outlook which has negative results for social mobility. Greater dependence on the whims of nature may also create a fatalistic orientation among farm-bred young people, a feeling that can be

translated into lack of confidence in their ability to master their destinies. A possible opposite effect may be the creation of attitudes of independence and autonomy in the farm child as a result of facing problems successfully.

It is expected, then, that residential isolation from the city will be negatively correlated with achievement orientation and high educational and occupational aspirations. The less accessible city life is to the individual, the more likely he is to have low aspiration levels. Due to the residential distribution of the sample, it was possible to compare value orientations and aspirations of students from Edmonton, some small outlying towns, and farms.

For the purposes of analysis, place of residence was categorized in two different ways: 1) by an isolation index and 2) by a city-town-farm trichotomy. The isolation index[1] was based on minutes of travel time by automobile to towns, graded in size, from a population of 500 to one of 25,000 and over, the rationale being that a young person is, relatively speaking, as isolated from urban influence as it takes to drive a car from his home to towns and cities of larger size.[2] The eight towns in the second section of the

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[1]Cecil L. French, "Some Social and Economic Correlates of Isolation for the Counties of Missouri," Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology-Anthropology, Washington University, 1953.

[2]Raymond La Franchise, Alberta Department of Highways, supplied the estimates on average miles per hour

sample were placed in rank order on this basis.

From an inspection of the percentage distribution of responses to test items and direct questions among the eight places ranked, it appeared that the rank order method of analysis was not significant for the values being measured. The correlations did not reach an acceptable basis of significance between rank order of social isolation and scores on the Achievement Orientation, the Name Occupation and the Twenty Statements tests, or statements of educational and vocational aspiration.[1] In the course of calculations it was noted that Westlock, and sometimes Fawcett, seemed to be "misplaced" rather often, that is, their rank scores on tests stood much higher than their places on the isolation index. The possibility that a city-town-farm continuum might be more meaningful than the distance factor was entertained. The presence of farm youngsters in all the small-town schools also was thought to confound the distance measurements.

Fortunately, information on place of residence defined as city, small town, or farm had also been collected and processed. This way of grouping the respondents produced differences at a significant level between rural, small

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on the basis of road conditions and traffic volume. Dual highways, 55 m.p.h.; First Class Hard Surfaces, 48 m.p.h.; Second Class Gravel or equivalent, 45 m.p.h.; and Third Class Road, 40 m.p.h.

[1]The Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient (r_s) was used.

town, and urban residents. Table 46 shows High Achievement Orientation scores increase from farm to city.

TABLE 46

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION SCORES ACCORDING TO FARM, TOWN, AND CITY RESIDENCE

Place of Residence	Low Achievement Orientation		Average Achievement Orientation		High Achievement Orientation		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Farm	75	17.1	231	52.6	133	30.3	439
Town	26	13.8	99	52.7	63	33.5	188
City	21	12.0	78	44.6	76	43.4	175
Total	122		408		272		802
Average		15.2		50.9		33.9	

$X^2 = 10.555$ 4 df $P < .05$.

The percentage distribution of Achievement Orientation scores in Table 46 calls attention to how much closer rural and small town orientations are to each other than to those of the city. Combining farm and town scores for a comparison with city Achievement Orientation scores, the level of significance was raised from the .05 to the .01 level.

City young people mentioned more high-prestige occupations than farm and small-town youth and their lists

for the Name Occupations Test (P .001) contained fewer "lows" ($P < .02$); the differences between the three groups was not significant for the number of "mediums" and "very lows" written down.

Farm and town students made occupational choices at a significantly lower level of prestige than city students at greater than .001 level. Table 47 shows the disparity between the observed and the expected frequencies of choices of lower and higher strata jobs in the three places of residence. One hundred and eight farm residents chose lower level jobs as against 86 expected; twenty-five small town residents so chose as against 35 expected; and only 24 city students chose occupations from the lower strata as against 36 expected.

TABLE 47

DISTRIBUTION OF STATED OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE BY PRESTIGE ACCORDING TO FARM, TOWN, AND CITY RESIDENCE

Place of Residence	Prestige of Stated Occupational Choice		
	Low and Very Low	Medium and High	Total
Farm	108 (86)	316 (338)	424
Town	25 (35)	149 (139)	174
City	24 (36)	150 (138)	174
Total	157	616	772

$X^2 = 15.10$ 2 df $P < .001$.

Expected frequencies in parentheses.

It is noteworthy that the ratio of selection between low and high strata jobs is practically equivalent in town and city students. However, when medium and high prestige occupational selections are kept separate, 36.6% of the city students select high prestige vocations in comparison with 13.9% and 11.2% of the town and country youngsters respectively.

Some rather convincing evidence has been presented to demonstrate that place of residence is a telling factor in predicting value orientations. But, as in the case of the variables of religion and ethnicity, it might be wise to ascertain whether social class differences, rather than community background, have been measured. Would the difference between city and country people prevail if persons from similar social classes were compared? To test whether these differences between residential groups persisted, the variable of class was held constant. Under these circumstances, did a lower middle class youngster from the city tend to aspire higher than a small town mechanic's son or the boy reared on a small farm? The answer, for the most part, was "no." Where class was held constant, differences between rural and small town and urban residents generally faded.

When achievement motivation scores of lower and lower middle class respondents were compared according to place of residence, there was no significanct difference between farm, small town, and Edmonton students. An

inspection of Table 48 reveals how close the scores on achievement orientation were to those expected by chance alone.

TABLE 48

SCORES ON ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST OF COMBINED LOWER AND LOWER MIDDLE CLASS FARM, TOWN, AND EDMONTON RESIDENTS

Place of Residence	Achievement Orientation Scores			
	Low	Average	High	Total
Farm	70 (73.6)	207 (207.2)	121 (116.2)	398
Town	21 (18.7	50 (52.6)	30 (29.7)	101
Edmonton	12 (10.7)	33 (30.2)	13 (17.1)	58
Total	103	290	163	557

X^2 = 2.13 4 df Not significant.

Expected frequencies in parentheses.

Due to the fact that no farm families were classified as upper class and very few small town families occupied such high positions, the middle class students were compared according to place of residence, leaving out the few cases in the highest category altogether. Table 49 shows that differences in achievement orientation scores due to place of residence disappear when social class, in this instance membership in the middle class, is held constant.

TABLE 49

SCORES ON ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION TEST OF MIDDLE CLASS FARM, TOWN, AND EDMONTON RESIDENTS

Place of Residence	Achievement Orientation Scores			
	Low	Average	High	Total
Farm	5 (3.42)	24 (20.50)	12 (16.08)	41
Town	4 (6.58)	46 (41.44)	29 (30.98)	79
Edmonton	8 (7)	37 (35.06)	39 (32.94)	84
Total	17	107	80	204

$X^2 = 7.31$ 4 df Not significant.

Expected frequencies in parentheses.

Comparing scores on the Name Occupations Test it was found that students of the same social standing tended to respond alike no matter what their place of residence. In general, no matter where they lived, young people of the same class were apt to be alike in their responses. The one exception to this generalization was in the area of occupational choice. Middle class youth from the city had distinctly higher vocational preferences than small-town and farm youth ($P < .01$). This might be interpreted in two ways. In the main, the occupations of the middle class fathers from the city were of higher standing than the rural

and small town middle class. Secondly, in the middle class where either the same or higher occupations than the father's are almost always chosen, the city young people have a special advantage of exposure to adults holding a wide variety of middle and high prestige occupations. That the value orientations among middle class youth did not differ from city to country only served to emphasize the importance of the cognitive aspect of selection as against psychocultural aspects of value orientation.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This chapter discusses the findings of the research and evaluates the study in terms of the problem as originally stated. It relates the results to some theoretical issues in the broader context of the field of sociology. In addition, it presents some of the shortcomings of the study and indicates further lines of research that might be profitable.

The Problem

The purpose of the thesis was to explore some of the social sources of achievement orientation and levels of educational and occupational aspiration. It sought to throw light on the relationship between membership in certain social groupings and the acquisition of values facilitating achieving behavior and upward social mobility. Social class standing, religious affiliation, ethnicity, and place of residence were the categories taken into consideration. It was proposed to discover whether a correlation exists between belonging to one of the strata or divisions within each of these social groupings and holding of certain beliefs and values that encourage or hinder achievement. An additional aim of the study was to ascertain the relative contribution of each one of these four groupings to the

patterning of attitudes towards achievement and the choice of aspiration levels.

The focus of the thesis was on two of the three distinct, yet interrelated, components of the Achievement Syndrome, all of which are necessary parts of the psychological and cultural equipment of the achieving person.[1] These components are the achievement motive, achievement value orientations, and aspiration levels relative to educational and occupational achievement. The first component, the achievement motive or need to achieve, thought to be learned very early and set as a relatively stable characteristic in the personality, was not considered in the study. The second component, achievement value orientation, refers to three areas of life considered especially relevant to achievement in this society. These dominant value orientations are, first, the activistic-passivistic outlook which signifies whether or not a group helps the individual feel that he can take life into his own hands and mold it to his own benefit. The second is the present-future-emphasis which determines whether or not planning for the future and sacrificing for far-distant goals are stressed. The third is the individualistic-collectivistic orientation which defines the person's obligations to develop his own talents as against the expectations to consider the welfare

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[1]Bernard Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome," op. cit.

of the family and other close social groups as paramount. These dominant value orientations are defined differentially by various strata of social classes, religious denominations, ethnic groups, and communities of residence. Belonging to one level or another of these groupings was expected to influence the achievement orientation of the individual.

Social groupings also have typical expectations for the educational and occupational achievement of their members. The study related membership in various social categories to levels of educational aspiration and stated occupational choice.

A nonprobability sample of 1105 junior and senior high school students from Edmonton and small surrounding towns and farms within a 200-mile radius of the city were the subjects of the study. Their social characteristics, including a range of social class backgrounds, church membership, ethnic affiliation, and farm, small town and urban residence fulfilled the requirements for the independent variables to be studied. The Achievement Orientation Test, Name Occupations Test, Twenty Statement Test, and a questionnaire asking background information and educational and vocational aspirations were administered to these students in their classrooms.

Summary of Findings

The principal finding of the study is that achievement orientation and levels of aspiration are highly related

to social class position of the individual. The study established a strong positive relationship between social class membership and the possession of the implementary values necessary for achievement, saliency of knowledge about the occupational structure of the society, and levels of educational and occupational aspiration. The sample of students tested responded in a consistent pattern of high achievement orientation and high levels of aspiration by students with fathers from high status position, graduating downwards in values necessary for achieving behavior and levels of aspiration with each lower strata of social standing. This corroborates the finding that the achievement orientations of samples of high school students in the eastern United States are class-related. The main difference in the composition of the Alberta sample consisted of its being over one-third rural and half female, whereas the United States samples have been all urban boys; a number of the tests and questions used were also different.

A corollary finding which is the second generalization arising out of the study, is that differences attributable to membership in other major groups, religious bodies, racial and ethnic groups, and community of residence, fade in importance, in the main, where persons of similar social class in these groups are compared to each other. Although it was expected that Protestants would aspire higher than Catholics, for example, there was no significant

difference between students of different church membership when class was held constant.

Two major exceptions to the second generalization are the following: For the Indians and Metis in the sample, ethnicity did make a difference in their achievement orientation scores and occupational choice. They were significantly lower than other students when compared by class standing. The second major exception to the paramount influence of social class was place of residence; middle and upper class young people from the city made significantly higher occupational choices than their counterparts from small towns and farms. Although they did not differ in achievement value orientation or saliency of knowledge about the occupational structure, they tended to choose higher-prestige jobs when asked to select an occupation they would like to have as adults.

While it is true that achievement orientation has been found to be class-related in this research, it is also notable that the patterned regularities are characteristic of only the "typical" members of each social class. A "typical" member of the lowest class, for example, aspires to a lower middle class occupation not to high-status occupations. However, in every social class and on every measurement in the study, some lower class students express values and beliefs more "typical" of the classes above them;

and, contrariwise, some upper class students hold views supposed to be "below" them. In the sample of 1105 students, 190 were classified in the lowest group. Of these, 27.9% were "typical" of their group in having "Low Achievement Orientations," while 53.2% had "Average Achievement Orientations" and 18.9% had "High Achievement Orientations." Of the top group, numbering 55 students, 61.8% were typical of their group in having "High Achievement Orientations," while 34.5% had average and 3.6% had low. The overlap among the classes is apparent, even though the differences in the class distribution of achievement orientation is clearly significant at much beyond the .001 level. This distribution of achievement orientation values which demonstrates difference in values held by members of the four social classes ($x^2 = 77.55$. 6df) is referred to in order to illustrate the point that only gross differences among the classes are being measured. It raises the question of whether the present testing devices go far enough in differentiating between value orientations which promote and those which do not encourage status striving. Probably the identical scores of the lower strata students with high achievement scores and high status students with high status scores mean quite different things in resulting behavior patterns.

Some General Theoretical Considerations

The foregoing summary of the problem and findings

of the present study suggests some general theoretical considerations which will be discussed below.

One of the unsolved issues in the field of social stratification concerns the problem of whether social class is an empirical reality and not merely an artificial construct of the investigator's mind. Social classes, as defined in this thesis, are status categories whose boundaries are marked off rather arbitrarily on the basis of the prestige ranks of the occupation of the head of household, usually the father. Four divisions of the prestige hierarchy were named: high, middle, lower middle and low. Although there may be some general defense for the division, no justification for the exact cutting point, nor, as a matter of fact, for the number of classes can be offered. Workers such as Hollingshead feel that they established the number of classes by allowing the respondents to make the categories themselves. However, other workers, when trying to replicate Hollingshead's work, found the boundaries of social classes far from clear-cut. In spite of the fact that in this thesis an arbitrary division has been used to establish the class boundaries, the orientations and aspirations of persons that fall within these divisions seem to differ remarkably from division to division in a way generally consonant with social stratification theory.

It is logical to expect such a wide range of orientations and aspirations to exist within a society which

is not a caste system. Moreover, since the division of classes is on a purely arbitrary basis, members of one of these classes may actually belong more logically in another division of the stratified society and therefore reflect the effects of different cultural patterning. In addition, in an open society, the individual may be influenced by groups other than those with which he would be overtly classified. The fact that a great deal of upward and downward mobility occurs can be explained partially by the distribution of high and low achievement orientation throughout the whole range of social classes. For an understanding of mobility, in fact, the "atypical" person, whose achievement orientation and levels of aspiration differ from the average in his class, is perhaps, the most meaningful subject of study. Achievement orientation adopted from a higher class by a lower class person can be seen as functional in terms of Merton's anticipatory socialization, a way of preparing to leave one group allegiance before acquiring another.

In the course of considering exceptions, however, sight must not be lost of the significance of social class in the determination of attitudes and aspirations for social and occupational improvement. One of the notable results of this study seems to be that the influence of the school was not sufficient to change class influence on orientations and aspirations of the students tested. Whenever the school is thought of as the institution in which society can develop the potentialities of all the young people, the

self-limiting effects of social class membership must be taken into consideration in planning.

The implications of this research for the problem of development of talent, posed initially in the introduction to the thesis, deserves some comment. Whether the democratic belief in equality of opportunity has a substantial basis depends on what the individual of average or high ability, but limited background, can accomplish. The findings of this thesis suggest that attitudes towards self development are largely status-determined. On the average, the lower class youngster is not prone to believe that there would be any use working hard and giving up the few satisfactions of everyday living on the chance he could secure an important job. Such culturally-imposed barriers to the development of talent in these segments of society appear to be realities.

Some Shortcomings of the Study

In the view of the writer, the most important shortcoming of the study was that the achievement motive of the students was not measured. Although the three components of the Achievement Syndrome, achievement motive, achievement value orientation, and educational and occupational aspirations are analytically separable, and knowledge about any one area can be legitimately gathered and analyzed separately, knowing the achievement motive would have

strengthened the analysis. The motive to excel and measure up to standards of excellence may obviously be a crucial factor in determining whether the cultural imperatives to succeed will be carried out by the individual. It may also be the most important way to distinguish between the upwardly and downwardly mobile and the immobile. Enough experience with administering TAT items in surveys has been accumulated recently to make the gathering of such data feasible.[1]

Another weakness of the study may lie in the way in which ethnic groups were combined in the coding for purposes of analysis. In the sampling design, an attempt was made to include students of many nationality backgrounds. The result was a very great variety of ethnic backgrounds, among them Indian, Metis, French Canadian, and many European groups. The latter were grouped into students of British, Western European, and Southeast European background, a combination which may have lost any meaningful differences between them. Since only four Jewish students were included, nothing could be done with the Jewish group in the analysis due to its size. As mentioned in the review of the literature, a good deal of comparative research using Jews as a cultural group has been done in the United States.

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[1]Joseph Veroff, John W. Atkinson, Sheila C. Feld, and Gerald Gurin, "The Use of Thematic Apperception to Assess Motivation in a Nationwide Interview Study, Psychological Monographs, 74 (Whole Number 499, 1960) pp. 1-32.

It would have been interesting to make comparisons with findings for the Jewish people in the geographical area of this study.

An uncomfortable vacuum in the analysis is the lack of pragmatic validation of attitudes towards achievement. Have the pencil-and-paper tests actually measured what they purport to? School marks were considered as a possibility, but the knowledge that marks are highly correlated with social class standing caused this to be discarded. Actually, the only true validation of measured achievement value orientations and aspirations lies in the future. They can only be tested against the occupational histories of the students involved. Even then, the many other variables which play roles in influencing the course of people's careers, not leaving out chance among many others, make it doubtful whether it can be certain what we have measured at the present state of knowledge.

APPENDIX

Name_____Grade_____Age_____

Instructions: Read each statement, and then check whether you agree or disagree with it.

	Agree	Disagree
1. Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory labour.	____	_____
2. All I want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult, job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of my own.	____	_____
3. When a man is born, the success he is going to have is already decided, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it.	____	_____
4. It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used for an education or to start a business.	____	_____
5. The best kind of job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit.	____	_____
6. Even when teenagers get married, their main loyalty still belongs to their Mother and Father.	____	_____
7. Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy.	____	_____
8. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even if it means giving up a good job.	____	_____
9. Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway.	____	_____

	Agree	Disagree
10. Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.	____	_____
11. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents.	____	_____

Name_____Grade in School_____Sex____Age__

Name of School_____

Directions: Please make twenty statements answering the simple question "Who am I?" Answer as though you were talking to yourself and no one else was going to see your answers. (Please do not give frivolous or "silly" answers.) Answer them any way you like, but be thoughtful in your answers and try to fill as many lines as possible in the time you are given.

Who Am I?

I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
5 I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
10 I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
15 I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
I am_____ _____
20 I am_____ _____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name_____Address_____

2. Grade in School_____3. Age_____ 4. Sex: Female___
Male_____

Place of residence:
on a farm_____
in a city or town_____

6. How many children are there in your family?

7. How many of your brothers and sisters are older than you are?_____

8. What is your church preference or membership?

Anglican	_____	Presbyterian	_____
Baptist	_____	Lutheran	_____
Christian Science	_____	Roman Catholic	_____
Greek Orthodox	_____	United	_____
Jewish	_____	None	_____
Latter Day Saints	_____	Other (name it)	_____

9. Nationality: What is your nationality?_____

In what country was your mother born?_____

In what country was your father born?_____

10. What is your father's occupation?_____

Does he work: in his own business_____
for the government_____
for a private firm_____
other (name it)_____

11. If your father is a farmer, check one of the following statements:

My father owns his own farm_____
My father rents our farm from someone else_____
My father works for another farmer_____

12. If your father is a farmer, state the size of his farm: _____acres.

13. What is your mother's occupation?_____

Check one: My mother stays home and keeps house_____
My mother has a job outside the house_____

If your mother has a job outside the house, does she work:

in her own business_____
for the government_____
for a private firm_____
other (name it)_____

14. Do you plan to finish Grade 12? Yes_____
No_____

15. Which course do you expect to take in high school: Check one:

Business education_____ Industrial shop_____

Home economics_____ Agriculture_____

Academic_____ General_____

16. If you were able to arrange it, would you attend University?

Yes_____
No_____

17. If you could choose, what job would you like to have when you're an adult?_____

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